

THE MILITANT

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REPORT FROM HAVANA

--see page 4--



Afro struggle at Brandeis gains community support

By Linda Sheppard

BOSTON, Jan. 16— The black community is solidly united behind the 65 black students who on Jan. 8 took over Ford Hall at Brandeis University and renamed it Malcolm X University. Support statements have come from the Boston Black United Front, the New Urban League, and the Metropolitan Clergy.

Community support has been forthcoming from organizations such as the Urban League, the NAACP and the United South End Settlement.

This support has been in the form of food, money, bedding, mattresses, toiletries, cleansing agents, and their physical presence. The students reported in the publication of the Brandeis Afro-American Organization (Afro), the *Brandeis Black Bulletin*, "We now have food for at least two months, money enough for bail for all of us, and toiletries for a month."

They report that there has been considerable national support. "The support from universities is usually in the form of telegrams and sometimes money. Support has come from numerous alumni

Albany, N. Y., Afro students score victory. See story page 5.

in the form of telegrams, legal advice, and their physical presence. Individual support has come from all over the nation in the form of telegrams from doctors, newsmen, the press, rabbis and black authors."

Over 50 students from the Boston area met Jan. 12 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to organize a committee to gain support for Afro. The committee, which is called the Malcolm X University Solidarity Committee, fully supports the demands and actions of the black Brandeis students and sees their struggle as part of a larger struggle for black self-determination. The committee agreed to distribute 15,000 copies of the first issue of the *Brandeis Black Bulletin* from Malcolm X University to circulate the true facts concerning Afro's struggle.

The *Bulletin* will play a key role in countering the smear campaign of Brandeis' President Abram and the mass media. The committee is organizing protest demonstrations and meetings in Boston, circulating protest petitions which will be sent to President Abram, and raising funds to sustain the *Bulletin*.

At a meeting at Brandeis Jan. 13, a group of about 260 white students voted to call a student strike in support of the 10 demands and for complete amnesty for the black students. They stated that they will stay on strike until the demands are met to the satisfaction of the black students and they leave the occupied buildings. The strike went into effect at 9 a.m., Jan. 14, and the strike steering committee has begun organizing support on campus. That morning striking students, wearing identifying green arm and head bands, were busy circulating on campus, putting up strike banners, distributing the strike call, and passing out the *Brandeis Black Bulletin*.

Copies of the *Brandeis Black Bulletin* from Malcolm X University may be obtained by writing to Afro, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass. 02154. Messages of support and money can be sent to the same address. Protest telegrams should be sent to President Morris B. Abram, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass. 02154. Copies should be sent to Afro.

An editorial

Support Brandeis students!

The struggle of the Afro-American students at Brandeis University brings to the East Coast the exemplary battle launched by the Black Student Union at San Francisco State College. The goal is to place the education of black students in the hands of black students and educators—the education of Third World peoples in the hands of Third World educators and educated, not the war-making corporations of the capitalist ruling class.

Malcolm X University at Brandeis deserves the support of all who struggle against imperialist oppression—as Malcolm X said, "by any means necessary."

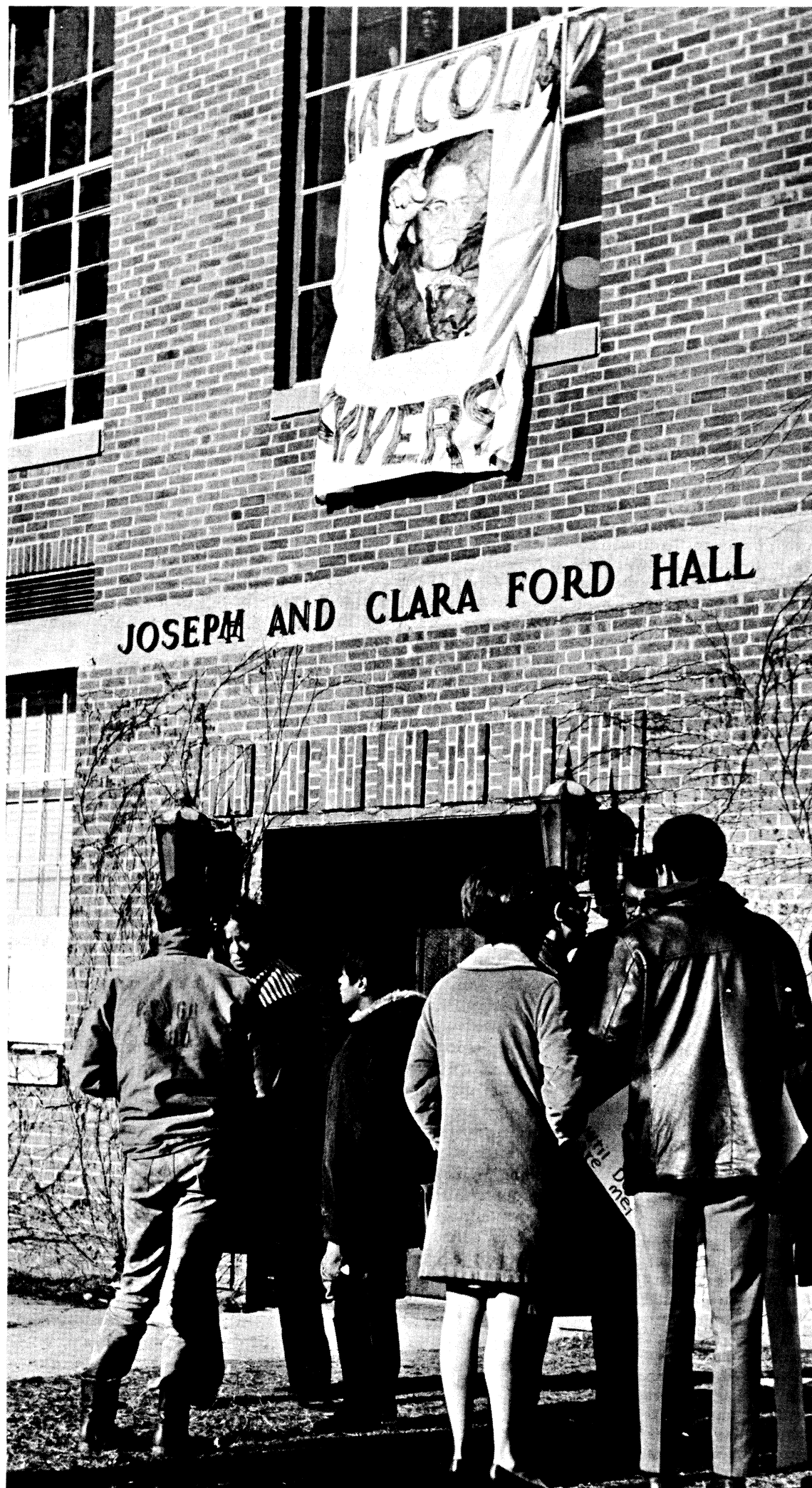


Photo by Manuel Russell

Occupied by Brandeis Afro students, Ford Hall is now Malcolm X University.

Zionist-socialist answers his critics

Finds Israel less tied to big powers

New York, N. Y.

It is regretable indeed that one may be held responsible not only for a party with which one has only the vaguest connection but for a state the foundations of which one seeks to change. Much more regretable is that the distorted, one-sided views of I. Faraj in the Jan. 3 **Militant** are so prevalent among many sectors of the left.

It is possible that the "Jewish colonization destroyed the normal economic structure of the existing Palestine nation." This structure, almost entirely dominated by the most backward feudalism—with all of its usual attendant excesses—is certainly not to be mourned. The influx of Jewish capital and technological know-how created the factor that tended to break this up. Perhaps otherwise Palestine would still be a feudal backwater in the manner of Saudi Arabia.

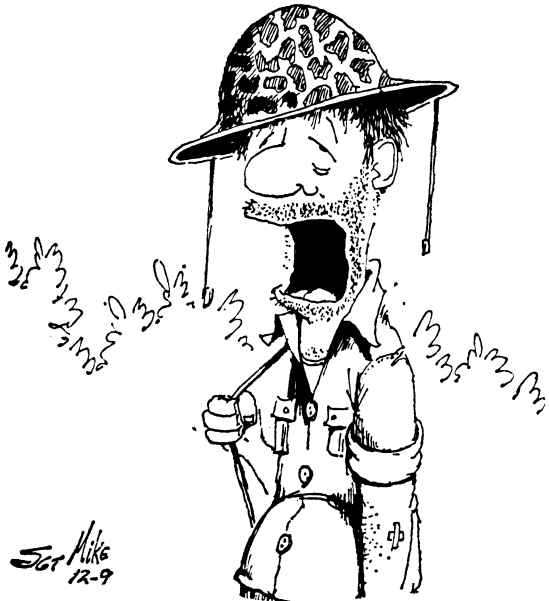
However, if we are to trust Arab sources as to how few the Jews actually were, and how little land they actually owned, we are forced to conclude that very few Arabs were actually displaced. Rather we might note that Palestine was the only country in the region recording an influx of Arabs—this can hardly have been due to a Jewish monopoly of employment.

Mapam is entering into an alignment with the Israeli Labor Party as a means of increasing its power from within. I would contend that this is a tactical error made possible by a general rightward trend. Probably Yaari's public stand on Dayan was meant to smooth the way for this alliance. Incidentally, Hashomer Hatzair Youth of North America (of which I am a member) editorialized against this move in the December issue of its organ, **Youth and Nation**.

It is possible to trace the evolution of the Palestinian conflict back to when attempts to coordinate the Arab and Jewish national struggles were frustrated by such Arab feudal lords as Haj Amin El Hussein, the mufti of Jerusalem. This was followed by the invasion of the infant Jewish state, as formed by the 1947 UN partition resolution, by the various Arab puppet regimes.

Today different Arab puppets try to use Israel as a diversion from such problems as imperialistic exploitation of their oil. Lest we forget: Standard Oil of New Jersey has more yearly profits than the total GNP of Israel. It is distressing to note the company the revolutionary Arab guerrillas keep.

With Sgt. Mike



“Wanna Hear a Funny Joke?
Th’ Paris Peace Talks!”

The Atlanta Constitution

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

Arab chauvinism is used in a similar manner by the government of Israel, although Israel's policy is considerably less intransigent and tied to the big powers than are those of the Arab governments.

The declared intention to eliminate a state and its people is decidedly not progressive. It merely serves to strengthen reaction in each camp.

Yehuda Krantz

'Shallow, one-sided' downright repulsive!

Berkeley, Calif.

Elizabeth Barnes' article in the issue of Jan. 10 on Israeli aggression was shallow, one-sided and failed to reveal the essence of the conflict. In short, it repulsed me, and you will please cancel my subscription.

Venceremos!
R. G.

Cleaver's bailors appeal for aid

Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information of the Black Panther Party, author of **Soul On Ice** and senior editor of **Ramparts** magazine, has been forced into becoming a fugitive from political persecution at the hands of the adult authority of the State of California—a group of political appointees, unqualified to control the lives of prison parolees and acting on behalf of the Reagan state administration.

The process which resulted in Cleaver's flight from oppression began at 3 a.m., April 6, 1968, when the adult authority prejudged Cleaver guilty of charges for which he was not scheduled to face trial until Dec. 21, 1968, and summarily returned him to prison without due process of law, without having conducted a hearing of any kind and with a bullet in his leg. The adult authority's

action was "officially" prompted by Cleaver's alleged part in an alleged shoot-out between members of the Black Panther Party and the Oakland police department.

The state demanded an outrageously high bail bond of \$50,000. The Black Panther Party paid \$5,000, but in addition to the cash fee, the bondsman required that six people sign a surety bond, guaranteeing the \$50,000. The signatories to this letter are five of the six who signed that bond, because we believed then that Eldridge Cleaver was a political prisoner, as we believe now that he is a political fugitive.

Cleaver was completely willing to stand trial for the alleged shoot-out, for he was certain, as we were, that his innocence would be demonstrated at the trial.

Even if it had been possible for Cleaver to stand trial for the alleged shoot-out and he had been completely exonerated of all charges, the adult authority had the power to revoke Cleaver's parole and return to him to prison for four more years. We are convinced that the authority would have done this, and that they would do so simply because Cleaver is one of the most articulate and militant spokesmen for the rights of black people in America.

Cleaver, then, was faced with the almost inevitable prospect of another four years in jail, regardless of the outcome of his trial, and he was convinced from past experience that he faced the gravest risk of being killed in prison because of his politics. He therefore decided to forfeit bail on the pending trial, rather than obey the adult authority's dictum to return to prison last November.

We respect his judgement and his right to remain alive. We have no regrets about his actions. We accept our responsibility for the ransom payment. To all who believe in freedom, including freedom for those with whom they disagree, Eldridge Cleaver's life is worth much more than \$50,000. We now ask those people to share the financial burden.

Checks should be made out to Cleaver Bail Fund, c/o Charles Garry, Att., 341 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94105.

Godfrey Cambridge
Kathleen Cleaver
Paul Jacobs
Ed Keating
Dr. Philip Shapiro

All the news that fits

New York, N. Y.

A funny thing happened to a **New York Times** article on its way from the early to the late edition.

The early edition on Dec. 23 gave prominent display to an article entitled, "30,000 GI's in Vietnam Cheer A Comedian (Yes, It's Bob Hope)."

"Hundreds of soldiers held two fingers in a 'V' and waved when the General stepped onto the stage, and he answered with a 'V' sign of his own. A few minutes later when Mr. Hope called attention to Ellsworth Bunker, the U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam, in the audience, the diplomat rose and made the same gesture."

"Sir Winston Churchill made the gesture a symbol of victory in World War II," the **Times** explained, "and it means that to men of General Abrams' and Ambassador Bunker's generation. But recently it has become a peace symbol. Many soldiers in the audience said it meant peace to them and the members of the troupe said they had the same understanding."

In the late edition of the **Times** the article was considerably shortened. Guess what was missing.

D. B.

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Editor: HARRY RING Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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Some unanswered questions about that Cuban 'breakout'

To read the tale in the capitalist press, last week 86 unarmed men, women and children managed to flee Cuba into Guantanamo Naval Base under the gunfire of the Cuban Army, which surrounds the U. S. installation there. Supposedly, some 150 people made the attempt jammed into a trailer truck and, to hear tell, it was a daring exploit. The moral, of course, being that life in Cuba is so harsh that people will go to almost any length to escape.

Life is harsh in Cuba as compared, for example, to the living standards of most white Americans. There really is nothing to be surprised about in this. A tiny island whose economy was stunted under a hundred years of savage colonial domination has been trying to develop in the face of a U. S.-imposed blockade that forces Cuba to scour the world's markets for the things it needs.

In the face of these imperialist-created difficulties, it is a fact that among that section of the Cuban population which has not developed a revolutionary consciousness and an understanding of the need for sacrifice, there are those that want to leave for the U. S. And it is also a fact that among those who want to leave are ordinary working people and even some black people—even though it means going from a country where discrimination has been abolished to the world capital of racism.

It is pure demagoguery to suggest that the people who come to the U. S. from Cuba are proof of the failure of the socialist revolution in Cuba. Cuba's living standards, as we have noted, are lower than in the U. S. But in comparison to the rest of Latin America, revolutionary Cuba has made giant strides in developing its economy and eliminating human suffering. Elsewhere in this issue we publish a photo indicating the living conditions in Rio de Janeiro where, according to the Jan. 12 *New York Times*, only about 15 percent of the population is fully employed and only a bare majority of those make a minimum wage. (Cuba has eliminated unemployment and there is no hunger.) Imagine what the response would be if the U. S. opened its doors to any Brazilian who wished to come and assured a home and job to boot.

Behind last week's story, however, lies something more ominous than one more propaganda tale about "flights for freedom." What happened involved, almost beyond doubt, one more illegal U. S. intervention into Cuba's internal affairs.

The Cuban government has an established policy of not keeping Cubans who want to leave, regarding such people as social dead weight in the development of the nation. Under an agreement with the U. S., which it initiated, Cuba permits air flights five times weekly to take Cubans to the U. S. Some 131,000 people have left by this method in the past three years.

There are some restrictions. Men subject to army duty cannot leave. Technicians and specialists must wait until they can be replaced. Every able-bodied would-be expatriate is expected to work a year in agriculture. But there is an established, organized way to leave the island, and it is available to every Cuban desirous of so doing.

Apart from this background, the very reporting of the current Guantanamo story make clear that U. S. forces at the base were involved.

The Jan. 20 *Newsweek* candidly reported: "Indeed, on closer inspection, the various stories making the rounds in Miami seemed to raise more questions than they answered." (The *New York Times* reporter concurred that the various stories of the arrivals were sharply contradictory.)

"For one thing," *Newsweek* noted, "the Guantanamo escapees showed few signs of having just been through a harrowing physical ordeal. For another, many of them gave wildly conflicting versions of their escape, and when confronted with these discrepancies, some apologetically confessed that they had been 'told to lie' about what had happened by U. S. officials at Guantanamo. And from authoritative sources in Washington, *Newsweek* learned that at least some of the 81 anti-Castro refugees flown to Miami aboard the two C-54s had not participated in the great breakout at all . . ."

"And it seems nothing short of miraculous," the magazine added, "that 86 persons of both sexes and all ages (one of the survivors was a 95-pound woman, another a man who reportedly held a 16-month-old girl in his arms) could manage to scale a wire fence which is six feet high at its lowest point and which is topped with barbed wire—all the while under a drumfire of machine-gun and rifle bullets from pursuing enemy soldiers."

"All of this led some observers to wonder if there had not been some kind of collusion between U. S. authorities at Guantanamo and the escapees."

Reports in the Jan. 10 and 11 *New York Times* give a hint of what went on.

"Over eight months the plotters met and discussed a plan to use the big trailer truck to get through the barbed wire enclosures

(Continued on page 4)

A Montana revolutionist dies

By Charles Scheer

MINNEAPOLIS—John Boulds, a life-long revolutionist and a colorful Western figure, died in Plentywood, Montana, Nov. 30.

John had been a cowboy, rodeo rider and roper, card player, trader in cattle and horses and, in his 60s, a garage mechanic. But above all else, he was a dedicated revolutionary socialist.

He was a man of varied abilities and talents. His proficiency at cards was such that he could play professionally when the needs of his situation demanded. He was so skilled in riding and roping that Will Rogers once tried to sign him up for his troupe.

But the significant aspect of John's life was political. At 20, he homesteaded a piece of prairie land in Sheridan County, in the northeast corner of Montana. Later, he and his wife and seven children moved to Plentywood, the county seat. His wife Vivian and the children survive him.

John had only a minimum of formal education, but he was well educated in socialism. He was an active worker in the Montana Farmer-Labor Party, which was strong in the 20s and early 30s. During the Great Depression, a Farm Holiday Association developed in Montana, as in other states of the area. The movement developed as farmers saw the fruits of their labor snatched from them as the bankers foreclosed mortgages that couldn't be paid off because of the terribly depressed prices. These farm holiday associations were quite successful in rallying farmers to physically block foreclosures.

Led battles

In Sheridan County the Farm Holiday

battles were particularly spectacular. There was a radical tradition in the area and, more, a revolutionary leadership. John Boulds was a part of this leadership, closely associated with Rodney Salisbury, the "communist sheriff."

Salisbury had been elected to that office by the radical farmers and used the office not against them but to help stay evictions.

The jail in Plentywood (old timers recall it displayed a big "Free Tom Mooney" banner) served as a free hotel for passing radical speakers, be they IWW, Communist or Socialist.

John Boulds opposed the Stalinist de-



John Boulds

generation of the Communist Party and was a founding supporter of the Socialist Workers Party. Convinced of the correctness of the SWP socialist program and perspective, he distributed its literature even when advanced age and health made it painful for him to walk. He was instrumental in organizing the state conventions that put the SWP presidential tickets on the Montana ballot in 1960, 1964 and 1968.

Red-baited

The process of capitalist concentration in agriculture has gone on in Sheridan County too, eroding the base of the old radical populism. Where once there were some 3,600 small, independent farmers and ranchers, there are now about 200. With the growing power of the big landholders and the capitalist politicians that represent them, John was harassed by red-baiting in the press and on the radio. He took this in his stride.

With the enthusiasm of an old rebel, John followed intently the growing radicalization among the youth. He derived particular satisfaction from the growth of the YSA.

A genial, soft-spoken, generous man, he imparted his confidence in the future to new, young revolutionaries and helped in their political development.

His 76 years were well spent.

Anti-Semitism in Polish trial ?

(IP) The trial of left-Communist student leaders Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski entered its second week Jan. 11 behind the closed doors of Room 246 of Warsaw's Central Courthouse.

The two ousted Warsaw University teaching assistants are accused of having led student demonstrations last March in opposition to the Gomulka regime. They are also charged with having ties to the Fourth International.

The government had reportedly planned to hold public show trials of arrested students, but decided on secret sessions after widespread charges that anti-Semitism had played a role in the selection of the defendants. Warsaw papers have gone out of their way, for example, to identify the Jews among the prisoners, and they are frequently falsely accused of being "Zionists."

In Modzelewski's case, his apparently non-Jewish name prompted the press to print the name of his Jewish mother.

Little information is yet available on the proceedings in Room 246. Kuron has reportedly denied that he held an "illegal" meeting in his home to write a protest letter to the Sejm [parliament]. He is said to have declared that every citizen has the right to petition the legislature.

The two are charged specifically with having received a mimeograph machine and stencils allegedly sent from Belgium by the Fourth International in a box of medical supplies.

N.Y. welfare unionists o.k. merger plan

By Howard Reed

NEW YORK—With 7,000 ballots cast, the independent Social Service Employees Union on Jan. 10 voted 4-1 to merge with Local 371 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO. The merger approval came in the face of threats from the New York welfare department to eliminate thousands of jobs in a pending reorganization of the department.

Victory for the merger proposal was primarily due to the fact that the Black Caucus of the union, which had previously opposed merger, shifted its position in favor of merger the week before the referendum. A Black Caucus leaflet said in part:

"Mass hysteria and panic are rampant concerning reorganization. The city too long has used polarization of the unions to divide and conquer. Reorganization will affect our jobs. Reorganization will affect our clients. Reorganization will affect the total community. The Black Caucus feels that merger will provide us with a stronger vehicle to negotiate important changes in the new concept of social services.

"Being part of a larger organization will enable the Black caucus to effectively organize a greater number of black people—into active participation. One of our objectives is to insure black representation on all levels of power within the policy-making bodies of the merged local.

"Community action"

"The Black Caucus is committed to a strong community-action program within the merged local to deal with the problems that exist in the black, Puerto Rican and Hispanic communities.

"We are not entering into this merger blindly and have given the issue long and careful consideration. To advocate that merger with 371 will solve all existing problems is illusory. For example the political interests of SSEU and DC 37 [the AFSCME district council] have not always been historically harmonious. We shall be relentless in our struggle to fight for constructive changes within the merged local and the DC 37.

"Only strong black caucuses in labor organizations that represent black workers can force organized labor to respond to positive changes."

Black city workers

There are tens of thousands of black hospital workers, school aides, and other black city workers in D. C. 37. There is every indication that the Black Caucus will be successful in reaching these workers, organizing them in a fight to upgrade their jobs, and forcing the city to hire more Afro-Americans. They will also be in a position to force the city to restore budget cuts to welfare recipients and improve the rotten service in city hospitals, job centers and other institutions.

The membership of Local 371 has not yet voted on the merger, but their approval is expected.

The Great Society

LAW AND ORDER — A U.S. military court in Munich cleared a sergeant of having mistreated prisoners at an Army jail located on the site of Hitler's Dachau slaughterhouse. The sergeant admitted beating prisoners with a three-foot length of plastic hose. His lawyer explained he was carrying out "lawful orders." Meanwhile, a U.S. Navy court-martial cleared a Marine guard who shot an 18-year-old Filipino bootblack to death at the gate of a U.S. naval station. The Marine explained he thought the youth was trying to steal a bicycle.

WELCOME TO FUN CITY—A lady from Philadelphia who went to watch New York's ticker-tape parade for the astronauts suffered an 11-stitch scalp wound. One space enthusiast tossed a two-pound roll of ticker-tape out the window—tightly wound.

PRETTY SHREWD — We're always impressed by the quality of the advice offered the ruling class by the **New York Times**. For example, a Jan. 10 editorial suggests it really isn't the smartest thing to up Nixon's pay from \$100,000 to \$200,000 when the government is asking workers to keep their demands under five percent to "combat inflation." The **Times**, however, doesn't go so far as to suggest the President should do without. "If the President's entertainment and travel allowance are no longer adequate," the **Times** slyly suggests, "that is where part of the adjustment ought to be made . . ."

FEATURE THAT!—A six-month study by a 25-man task force established that white citizens of Maine are prejudiced against poor people, blacks and Indians.

HOW BIASED CAN YOU GET? — Paul Dixon, chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, delivered a stinging rejoinder to a team of investigating law students who had characterized his agency as a lax, incompetent tool of business. As evidence of the "extreme antibusiness bias of these young zealots," Dixon cited a passage in their report which characterized the dishonesty of corporations as "far more damaging to contemporary America than all the depredations of street crime."

HELMET BOOM — Japanese helmet makers, whose business increased 20 percent in 1968, are rubbing their hands at the prospect of massive student opposition to the U.S.-Japanese military security treaty which comes up for renewal in 1970. They assume the confrontations with the cops

will stimulate even greater sales among the students.

AMERICAN KNOW-HOW — An **Atlanta Constitution** article explains that just as an American housewife buys chicken by the part in a supermarket, "so can advertiser or manufacturer or sponsor buy women by the part in a different kind of supermarket—the model agency." Models specialize in face, legs, hands, feet, hair, teeth, bosom, etc. Mady Weigand, a figure model, who averages \$120 an hour for pushing bras and girdles, offers an inside look at the industry. While modeling, she explains, she wears more than she does at the beach. "I wear a body stocking plus plastic inflatable falsies which come with a straw insert. To fill the cup bigger, you just blow in more air."

REVERSE FORM? — Meanwhile, we may be losing touch with the trends, but an ad for a New York women's apparel shop struck us as somewhat un-American. It offers a specially constructed bra which reduces the apparent size of the bust.

POLITICAL ASSESSMENT — One-time revolutionary Max Eastman, who's been hustling for **Reader's Digest** for the past several decades, says he feels sorry for today's revolutionary youth. En route from his summer home in Martha's Vineyard to his winter home in the Barbados, he said the present generation of revolutionaries lack a perspective.

A CAPITALIST FUTURE—Assume that somehow you put aside enough money each week so that, taken with the amount you would draw from social security, you would have the same income on retirement that you're earning now. According to columnist Sylvia Porter, if you did so, your actual retirement income would be about 50 percent of what employed Americans would be earning at that time.

AND YOU THINK YOU'VE GOT PROBLEMS — The nation's fox hunters are being increasingly hemmed in by suburban developments, according to the **Wall Street Journal**. The fox, with hound and hunter in hot pursuit, will now sometimes suddenly wind up in someone's swimming pool. Or a sly, civilization-wise fox will nip across a highway, leaving the hounds gasping from the car fumes and unable to pick up the fox scent.

— Harry Ring

----- clip and mail -----

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REPORT FROM HAVANA

Fidel's speech on January 2

By Paul McKnight

HAVANA, Cuba — A million Cubans gathered in the Plaza de la Revolucion here Jan. 2 to celebrate the 10th anniversary of their revolution. They heard an assessment by Fidel Castro of the first 10 years of the revolution—the progress made and the continuing problems. And they greeted with tremendous enthusiasm his prediction of the great accomplishments that lie ahead.

Central honors at the demonstration went to the exemplary workers whose revolutionary dedication have spurred production in the face of all difficulties.

Honored on the reviewing stand sat the invited delegations from countries all over the world. The North Vietnamese delegation included a pilot who had downed 17 American planes. He is a national hero in Vietnam.

In the reviewing stand was a delegation of 14 members of the Young Socialist Alliance. They were greeted with wild applause from the assembly when they unfurled a banner that said, "Norte Americanos con Cuba." [North Americans with Cuba.]

There were also members of SNCC, CORE and SDS. Carl Oglesby is here, as is Robert Scheer of *Ramparts* and reporter/photographer Lee Lockwood.

Not only was the size of the crowd impressive, but the message they heard from Fidel was just as impressive. He began by saying that with this 10th anniversary, the Cuban people had graduated from the primary school of revolution and were entering junior high school. The 10 most difficult years of revolution were past, he said, and the 10 most rewarding ones were just beginning.

Results evident

This is true. Everywhere in Cuba the results of a decade of massive mobilization of revolutionary manpower are evident. All the hard work of the past 10 years is bearing fruit. All the training schools that were established by the revolution are now graduating classes of skilled



ON EVE OF POWER. Fidel Castro and Camilo Cienfuegos in the Sierra shortly before the Jan. 2, 1959, overthrow of the Batista dictatorship. Few, if any, thought then that this small band of guerrillas would lead the first socialist revolution in the western hemisphere.

technicians, doctors, engineers and scientists who are carrying out the task of rebuilding Cuba and raising the island out of the swamp of underdevelopment.

The Cuban fishing industry has tripled its production since the revolution. By next year, agricultural production will be double that of 1959, and Fidel in his speech estimated that in the next decade production in the agricultural sector would increase by an average of 15 percent per year. Every high-school classroom in Cuba now has a television set which provides 25 minutes of instruction out of every teaching hour. The year 1970 will see Cuba's largest sugar-cane harvest—10 million tons. This comes at a time when the world market price of sugar is rising.

Fidel set the goal of having Cuba's entire sugar-cane harvesting operation mechanized by 1975. This will free millions of man-hours of labor that are now tied up in the massive harvesting mobilization. Also by 1975, all the available water supplies will be harnessed in dams, reservoirs and irrigation systems so that a dry year will have no appreciable effect on the crop.

Above all these material accomplishments, there is one fact that is most significant of all. That is that 10 years of difficulties, of hard work and sacrifice has not destroyed the revolutionary morale of the decisive sectors of the Cuban masses. The Cuban people are still actively intervening in the historical process.

Continuing problems

Of course, there are still many problems for the revolution. One of the main hardships that the people face is the necessity of rationing many consumer items. Fidel discussed this problem in his speech, using milk as an example. He said that in a country like Batista's Cuba, where 80 to 90 percent of the children did not drink milk, 50,000 cows were more than enough to produce the quantity of milk consumed. But when you take the viewpoint that all the children in Cuba, as well as all adults, have a right to drink milk, and you have to produce milk for everybody, then you need more than 500,000 cows to produce enough milk.

Increasing a country's cattle herd by one thousand percent is not something that can be done overnight. Even though Cuba has started a vast artificial-insemination program for cattle, it still requires a certain length of time for calves to grow into cows and produce more calves. And until there are enough cows to produce an abundance of milk, what milk there is has to be shared by all the children and not a privileged few.

Sugar ration

Fidel also stressed the necessity of exporting the maximum amount of sugar possible, especially now that world market prices are rising, in order to finance the imports of road-building and agricultural machinery.

Cuba has, he said, not only the highest per capita consumption of sugar of any country in the world, but also an immense amount of wasted sugar consumption: Sugar is being fed to chickens and cows.

He estimated that 1969 domestic sugar consumption should be curtailed by 200,000 tons and proposed a ration of six pounds per month per person in Havana, with a somewhat higher ration in the interior. The crowd roared its approval.

A big problem, and one that causes many other problems—such as the shortage of certain consumer goods—is the blockade maintained by U.S. imperialism. But the Cuban leadership sees the blockade as becoming less of a problem in the coming period. Fidel ridiculed Richard Nixon's threat of intensifying the blockade. He said that with the growing competition for markets by the major capitalist countries, the European countries that are now trading with Cuba would take a very dim view of any pressure from Washington to stop the trade.

Fidel predicted that Nixon, who along with Eisenhower began the blockade, would see the blockade fall apart during his term as President.

Fidel's speech was very impressive, reviewing the accomplishments of the past 10 years, comparing Cuba's development with the stagnation in the rest of Latin America, raising the perspective of increasing development in the coming decade, and paying tribute to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism.

The Cuban people are right in being proud of their revolution, and revolutionaries all over the world are right to be proud of their defense and support of the Cuban Revolution, because, as Fidel explained in his speech, "The triumphs of Cuba are not triumphs of Cuba but triumphs of the revolutionary movement."



Photo by Linda Jenness

INTRODUCTION. Cubans give visiting Young Socialist Joel Britton opportunity to get the feel of a grub hoe.

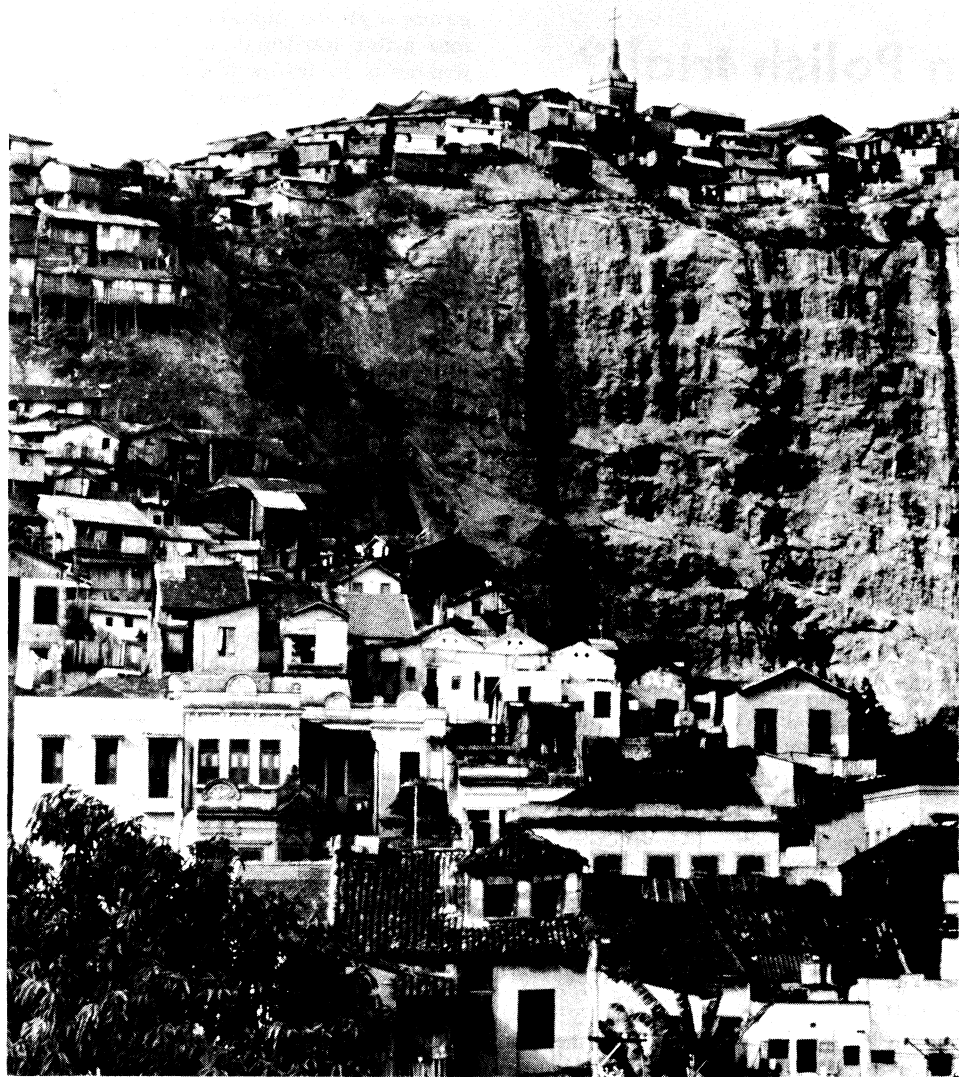


Photo by Joseph Hansen

CAPITALIST RIO. U. S. points to scarcity it has imposed on Cuba as proof of "failure" of socialism. Shown here is one of the shantytowns ringing Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Only 636,000—15 percent—of the city's 4.2 million residents have regular jobs. Of those regularly employed, only 381,000—less than ten percent of the city—earn the minimum industrial wage of \$33 a month. This can truthfully be pointed to as the product of an imperialist-dominated economy.

... That Guantanamo 'breakout'

(Continued from page 2)

and checkpoints . . . A plan of the base was obtained and a weak point in defense chosen." (Emphasis added.)

Though the *Times* says that all they had was one .45 caliber pistol, it wrote that ". . . Cuban soldiers opened fire as the fugitives fought their way through the barbed wire . . . The exchange of gunfire allowed many to get across the fence and into the base." (Emphasis added.)

"It was broad daylight," the *Times* had pointed out earlier.

Forcibly imposed by "treaty" in 1903, the U.S. has arrogantly held on to Guantanamo against the stated will of the Cuban people. Since its advent to power, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has demanded that the U.S. yield Guantanamo and has taken legal action in the international courts to compel the U.S. to leave. The present unmistakable evidence of a fresh U.S. violation of the internal affairs of Cuba underlines the merit of the Cuban demand and emphasizes why every American partisan of justice and fair play should insist of Washington that it get out of Guantanamo.

Swarthmore focuses on key issues

By David Oden

PHILADELPHIA, Jan 15 — Throughout the past week, Swarthmore College has been the scene of mass meetings, workshops, and caucuses. There is heated debate and discussion on the black liberation struggle, student power, the role of the university in society, and other political and academic issues.

This flurry of activity was touched off by the occupation of the admissions office at the college by members of the Swarthmore Afro-American Students Society (SASS). The occupation, which began 24 hours after SASS had burned the college in effigy Jan. 8 (see *The Militant*, Jan. 17), was accompanied by a statement which reviewed the repeated frustrations which SASS has met in their attempts to utilize traditional channels for effecting changes in admissions policy in order to open the college to a broader sector of black students.

JAN. 16 — President Courtney Smith of Swarthmore died of a heart attack today. In response to this development black students have called a temporary moratorium on their action and have left the administration building.

The remainder of the student body responded with surprising rapidity. Within eight hours, two mass meetings had been held, and various smaller groups had met

Black students score victory in Albany

By Carol French

ALBANY, N. Y., Jan. 14 — The Black Student Alliance (BSA) of the State University of New York at Albany (SUNYA) won an important initial victory yesterday when President Evan R. Collins and Dr. Paul Miwa, vice-president for academic affairs, signed a list of demands presented by the black students. The demands were:

- 1) The institution of a full-credit, sophomore-level course in Afro-American history, for the spring semester, 1969. The course is to be taught by a qualified instructor chosen by the BSA.
- 2) The establishment of an autonomous Afro-American studies department, offering major programs on both the undergraduate and graduate levels, by the fall semester, 1969. The BSA is to play a decisive role in determining curriculum, establishing qualifications of instructors, and selecting instructors.
- 3) The enrollment of 300 new Afro-American, Puerto Rican, and other non-white, minority-group students by the fall semester, 1969. The BSA is to participate in the recruitment of these students.

The BSA declared these demands to be nonnegotiable, and insisted that appropriate members of the university administration sign them.

At the beginning of the last academic year, there were fewer than 20 black students attending SUNYA. They formed the BSA, and demanded that at least 200 additional black students be enrolled by September 1968. The administration acceded to this demand, which greatly increased the role of the black students on campus.

The BSA then demanded courses in black history. After some temporizing, the administration set up a non-credit course taught by a volunteer unpaid instructor. After he was unable to continue teaching the course, the administration, pleading lack of funds, let it drop.

The BSA drew up detailed plans for a black studies program and presented it to the administration, which promised to take the matter under consideration. But on Friday, Jan. 11, representatives of the

and adopted positions on the action and the underlying issues. However, it soon became apparent that the action by SASS found the remainder of the students unprepared. There was no one sufficiently experienced to present a clear, convincing analysis of the issues and implications of the SASS struggle, nor of directing an active campaign which would have complemented and supported that of the black

BSA visited the president and discovered that nothing had been done towards starting the program.

Over the weekend, the BSA prepared to take direct action. It mobilized its members, and requested support of antiracist white students. Members of the YSA and SDS, as well as unaffiliated white students, responded by organizing a support committee.

Yesterday, the BSA representatives returned to the Administration Building, fully prepared to seal off the sixth floor, where the president's office is located. At that point, President Collins and Vice President Miwa signed the demands.

By 2 p.m., however, it appeared that Collins had begun to renege. At his weekly student-press conference — less than an hour after he had initialed the demands — he stated that the Afro-American studies department would be "like any other department" and that if a potential instructor were not "qualified" according to the administration's criteria, he would not be hired no matter how highly the BSA might recommend him.

The next major test may come on Feb. 5, when representatives of the BSA are slated to meet with Collins to begin work on concrete implementation of the demands. The black students are alert to any possible encroachment on the agreement, and white students will be ready to build support for their struggle.

BSA members are already at work drawing up curricula, beginning the search for staff, and carrying out other activities necessary to implement the demands. They stressed that by having complete autonomy in the department, they "want to make it relevant not only to black students but also to our brothers and sisters in the community."

Asked to comment on the relation between the BSA's action and white students' efforts to win control of their education, a BSA spokesman told *The Militant*, "We support all people controlling the institutions that affect their lives. To bring about these goals, people are justified in using any means necessary."



BURN MOTHER BURN! Rebellng students at Swarthmore College near Philadelphia burn "sweet mother Swarthmore," mocking 19th century cloistered atmosphere.

students. As a result, activity by the students has become increasingly bogged down in discussion of peripheral issues.

As a result of the indecisiveness of the students, the faculty has increasingly assumed a leading role in the response to SASS' position. They have met daily in marathon sessions to consider SASS' demands. The outcome of these meetings has been largely supportive of SASS, although it remains to be seen whether any substantive changes come as a result of the faculty's recommendations to the administration.

Exemplary struggle

Throughout the week, SASS has conducted an outstanding struggle. They have maintained close contact with the faculty and the remainder of the students, and have established and maintained contact with leaders in the black community in

Macalester backs S.F.

By David Keil

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Over a hundred students attended a Jan. 13 rally at Macalester College here to support the San Francisco State strikers. Held in the cafeteria at noon, it became a "teach-in" for several hundred dining students. After the rally, a telegram supporting the strike was sent to President S.I. Hayakawa of S. F. State and copies were mailed to Calif. Gov. Ronald Reagan, the Statewide Strike Support Organizing Committee and all the student and teacher groups involved in the struggle. The rally was sponsored by the Macalester Committee to Defend the San Francisco State Students and Teachers, a broadly based ad hoc group.

Speakers included Mark Linder and Mark Vaught, president and vice-president of the student government, Ken Hayashi of the Japan Zengakuren, Jim Goodman of the Macalester Committee for Peace in Vietnam, David Keil of the Young Socialist Alliance and Greg Schiller, a student at Central High School in St. Paul. Central High has been the scene of sit-ins demanding more just black representation on faculty and curriculum. The morning of the rally, leafleters visiting Central to publicize the rally were threatened with arrest by nervous administrators there.

To cope with the "information gap" which exists here, the Macalester committee plans to issue a pamphlet explaining the S. F. State strike. The rally was considered a success and a contribution toward winning the strike and keeping cops off all campuses, including Macalester.

Philadelphia and with other black student organizations in the area. After a week of self-confinement, they continue to show the same determination which led them to take action.

Although it failed to demonstrate the power of which it was initially capable, the activity of the remainder of the students has not been without its positive effects. A significant number have perceived the errors of the previous week and acquired an understanding of its political implications. They now see the necessity of a leadership capable of initiating and directing a decisive, active, struggle. More important, much of the campus has realized that it is not immune to the pressures and conflicts which are prevalent in society as a whole.

A week ago, Swarthmore was viewed as unique and unassailable in its provincialism. Many now realize that the current crisis is but one more component of the revolutionary process sweeping the world.

Afro bookstore burned out in Bloomington

By Mike King
(Liberation News Service)

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. (LNS) — On the evening of Dec. 26, the Black Market, a black student-owned and operated book and artifact shop in Bloomington, was destroyed by an arsonist.

Witnesses said they saw a man light something and throw it through the window; it immediately burst into flame and completely gutted the store. Police said that the fire was caused by a "molotov cocktail" fueled by kerosene.

The building also houses a record store and a couple of headshops, all of which suffered smoke damage. Some witnesses said that firemen carelessly broke windows and walls while police looked on, laughing. Others said the firemen were hampered by burning insulation and did as well as they could. Clarence "Rollo" Turner, owner of the Black Market, noted however that some books had been torn apart and strewn about — obviously not fire damage. Turner said that the building itself was insured, but not the contents. He estimated damage at \$2,000.

Although the local papers played the story down, the bombing was obviously racially motivated. Since the opening of the Market in September, black students involved have been harassed by abusive white "customers," including townies and fraternity types. The owner of the building had received telephoned bomb threats because he allowed "niggers" to rent the store.



"If you're afraid of black nationalism, you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love black nationalism." — Malcolm X.

The most significant—and negative—event at the Ann Arbor SDS national council meeting Dec. 27-31 was the passage of the Progressive Labor Party's retrograde antinationalist resolution on the black struggle.

This was part of PL's current campaign to oppose the right of self-determination of the Afro-American people. The PLP resolution passed at the SDS meeting represents a total rejection of the lessons that Lenin and the Bolsheviks taught on the national question, and like any rejection of revolutionary policy, results in an adaptation—conscious or not—to the ruling class.

In their proposal to the national council, PLP stated "Nationalism has replaced pacifism as the main ideological weapon of the ruling class within the black liberation movement. Nationalism is used to divert Third World people from struggle on a class basis, from making alliances with white workers and students."

PLP editorialized in January's *Challenge*: "Nationalism is a bourgeois idea and is opposed to internationalism. Nationalism is also a barrier to united working-class struggle domestically . . . Unless nationalist feeling is transformed through struggle into working-class consciousness, it will be turned by the ruling class into support for some sort of Black Capitalism."

While cloaking their arguments with platitudes on working-class "unity" and "internationalism," PL refuses to support Afro-Americans fighting for the basic democratic right of self-determination. In taking this stand in opposition to nationalism, the Maoists share a common position with U. S. imperialism and with the most openly reactionary misleaders of the black struggle.

Nationalism 'bourgeois'?

PL claims that black nationalism is a "bourgeois racist" reaction to the ideology of racism among whites, rather than a revo-

lutionary reaction to the oppression of blacks. Black nationalism, they say, divides black workers from white workers and prevents black workers from uniting with whites in struggle against capitalism, and it is thereby directly counterposed to international workers' solidarity. PLP sees the solution for Afro-Americans in the rejection of nationalism and support of a "class" (presumably integrationist) position.

The Maoist position contradicts the basic Marxist principle of unconditional support of the right of self-determination of oppressed peoples. Moreover, it lacks anything close to an accurate understanding of what really is happening in the black struggle.

The Marxist position on nationalism is best explained by Lenin in his work, *Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*. Lenin saw self-determination as a basic bourgeois democratic right. With the development of imperialism, which thwarted self-determination for most oppressed peoples, and the resulting colonial revolution, the question of the relation of national liberation struggles to the struggle for socialism came to the fore.

Lenin insisted that revolutionary socialists should support, without qualification, the struggle for self-determination as a struggle against imperialist oppression. The nationalism of any oppressed nation, he explained, "has a general democratic content that is directed against oppression and it is that content we unconditionally support."

Essential step

He regarded the breaking down of national oppression as an essential step toward socialist internationalism. "Just as mankind can achieve the abolition of classes only by passing through the transitional period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, so mankind can achieve the inevitable merging of nations only by passing through the transitional period of complete liberation of all oppressed nations."

Clearly, Lenin shared nothing with revisionist socialists who, like PLP today, refused to support the national struggles of oppressed peoples in his day. He characterized the Russian socialists who opposed the demand for self-determination for Finland, Poland, the Ukraine, and other oppressed minorities as "lackeys of the blood-stained imperialist bourgeoisie."

Nor can Lenin's stand on nationalism be avoided by arguing that black people are not, formally speaking, a nation, or by the PLP assertion that Afro-Americans are oppressed simply because we "are part of the working class." All black people are victims of racism, regardless of class, and there is discrimination against black workers within the working class. To try to reduce the national oppression of black people to a simple "class" issue is an anti-Marxist vulgarization of political theory.

The national oppression of black people is central to American capitalism because it is the basis for the superexploitation of black workers, who make up the great majority of the Afro-American nation. The imperialists maintain this exploitation by

In reply to Progressive Labor

Why black nationalism is revolutionary

By Tony Thomas

keeping a colonial control over the economic, social, cultural, and political institutions of the black community. And that is why they so fiercely oppose the nationalist movement for black control of the black community.

Not only do the Maoists reject the whole Leninist theory of the national question, but in doing so they fail to see the revolutionary importance of black nationalism.

Key aspect

Because the national oppression of black people is such an integral part of U. S. capitalism, the demands for black control of the black community or for a separate black state are necessarily anticapitalist in direction and can be won only in the context of a socialist revolution.

Just as the Vietnamese cannot end U. S. exploitation and gain national self-determination without ending capitalism in Vietnam, Afro-Americans cannot achieve real self-determination without ending capitalism in the United States. This is especially true because of the proletarian nature of the black nation.

It is not a coincidence that revolutionary nationalist leaders such as Malcolm X, Huey P. Newton, H. Rap Brown, and Stokely Carmichael, and nationalist organizations such as the Black Panther Party, DRUM, and SNCC, have all developed pro-socialist positions.

Nationalist struggles lead the masses of black people toward revolutionary action and viewpoints. The revolutionaries in the black nation are almost entirely nationalists. It is those conservatives like Roy Wilkins who share PL's antinationalist views.

The major struggles of the past year—the explosions in the high schools, the struggle for community control of the schools, and the struggle, led by black and Third World students, now being waged at San Francisco State College—have all been based on nationalist demands. They are demands based on the idea of black people wresting control of their lives away from domination by this racist capitalist society. These demands are now familiar—for Afro-American history and culture taught by black teachers, for black control of the schools and curriculum, for black control of the police, etc.

False issue

Of course, within the context of the rise of nationalism, there have been attempts by some organizations and leaders to channel nationalist sentiment in a pro-capitalist direction. But the charge that black nationalism is reactionary just because some nationalists, like Floyd McKissick of CORE, advocate "black capitalism" has as much strength as the argument that says the working class is a reactionary force because the trade-union leadership is procapitalist.

Moreover, it is not black nationalism that divides the black and white workers as PL claims. What divides black people from white workers is the unwillingness of white workers to struggle against discrimination on the job and within the unions, much less support self-determination. White workers attempt to maintain their relatively privileged job positions by

supporting the union bureaucracy against black caucuses like DRUM.

A basic key to alliances between white and black workers will be the struggle against the common capitalist enemy which will be carried out by the white workers on a class basis and by blacks on both a class and national basis. This kind of unity will not develop out of any liberal-type "combat-racism" campaign as advocated by PL at the SDS NC, but out of recognition of common anticapitalist interests that will come as a result of the struggle.

S. F. State example

An example of this type of common action is the bloc, even if tenuous, between the striking students at San Francisco State and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). Individual teachers aside, the AFT and the Central Labor Council are not dedicated to supporting the nationalist demands of the Third World Liberation Front and the Black Student Union for control of black and other Third World studies and of Third World admissions. However, it was the militant struggles of the students which gave these professors—who have been attempting to get union recognition for over a year—the basis to strike. And this unity of action of the students and faculty against the common enemy—the racist capitalist university—has tremendously strengthened both the union and student struggles.

This type of alliance between white and black workers against a common foe will become more prevalent as American capitalism becomes less able to meet even such modest economic demands as white workers are now raising. Trade union struggles will also sharpen as black caucuses begin to struggle against the employer-serving union bureaucracy.

A basic part of any alliance between white workers and revolutionary black workers will be support to self-determination for the black nation, and it will be the responsibility of revolutionary socialists to help build this support. It will be over this issue, among others, that the revolutionaries will be divided from the reformists.

Prague students in mass action

JAN. 16— Over 2,000 delegates of Prague youth organizations joined yesterday in issuing a manifesto condemning the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact forces.

The youth meeting, supported by the 900,000-member metal workers' union, called upon the Communist Party central committee not to bow to Moscow's pressure for demotion of Josef Smrkovsky.

It issued a "Prague Manifesto" declaring that good relations with the Soviet Union and the four other Warsaw Pact forces which occupied Czechoslovakia in August were impossible until Czech sovereignty is restored.

For more on this see the special interview with a Czech journalist on page 10.

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

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MINNEAPOLIS

THE STRUGGLE OF THE INDIAN AMERICAN TODAY. Speaker: George Aubid, Ojibway Indian, organizer of Minnesota wild-rice growers struggle last fall. Sat., Jan. 25, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, #240. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: Gus Horowitz, just returned from Czechoslovakia. Fri., Jan. 24, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Sobell vows continued fight to clear name

By Paul Gershwin

NEW YORK, Jan. 15—After serving more than 18 years in prison, Morton Sobell was released yesterday. A key defendant in the 1951 Rosenberg-Sobell trial, Sobell was convicted of the trumped-up charge of "conspiracy" to commit espionage. He was sentenced to serve 30 years in prison.

The Rosenberg-Sobell trial was one of the most important political trials in U. S. history. Held at the height of the McCarthy witch-hunt era, in the middle of the Korean war, the trial was used to fan the flames of anticommunist hysteria.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted of passing the "secret" of the atom bomb to the Soviet Union. Despite worldwide protest, the Rosenbergs were sentenced to death and were executed on June 19, 1953. Sobell was tried together with the Rosenbergs, but he was not charged with involvement in the atom bomb "conspiracy."

Through the years Sobell has waged a fight to vindicate himself and the Rosenbergs. "Because of my 18 years in prison, I more affirmatively assert my innocence than ever," he said at a press conference today.

While in prison, Sobell explained, he refused to accept any government deals offering leniency to him in return for a false admission of guilt. The federal parole board had annually denied his requests for parole, for which he was first eligible in July, 1962. His release, Sobell said today, did not signify a change of heart on the part of the government. "I was given a mandatory release. By law they had to let me go."

His release came as the U.S. court of appeals ruled that the 7-1/2 months he had spent in jail prior to receiving sen-

tence (Sobell had been unable to raise the \$100,000 bail) must count towards the time he had served. With time off for good behavior, Sobell served his entire sentence.

Still not fully free

Moreover, Sobell said, "I'm not fully free. For the next 12 years I will have to report to a parole officer once a month and answer any questions he might ask. If at any time in the next 12 years they decide my release was a mistake — say after 11 years — then they can send me back to serve 12 years more."

Nevertheless, he displayed a mood of victory at his release. The government had hoped to bury him in prison. At the time of his conviction, red-baiting hysteria was widespread and the movements for social change were in retreat. In subsequent years, however, many people became convinced that the trial was a monstrous frame-up.

The Rosenberg-Sobell trial was held in a tense, highly inflammatory period, when the government-sponsored witch-hunt was at its most severe. It was a show trial, meant to intimidate all individuals and organizations of the left and create an atmosphere of fear and silence in the population generally. The trial itself was a cornerstone in the witch-hunt and it greatly strengthened McCarthyism.

"In 1951," said Sobell at his press conference, "this country needed a political trial to demonstrate that it would even put people to death to show that it meant business . . . This trial served a political purpose, and, as usual in a political trial, they weren't interested in the truth."

Sobell emphasized the reason for the government's persistent refusal to grant him a pardon, parole, or even a hearing, despite new evidence that demolished the verdict. "They couldn't release me up to now



Photo by Hermes

REUNITED. Morton Sobell at press conference the day after his release. With him are his mother Rose and his wife Helen. Throughout his entire ordeal they waged a heroic struggle to build a defense movement in his behalf. Their efforts awakened many to the nature of the Rosenberg-Sobell frame-up.

because that would appear to acknowledge that maybe something had been wrong."

The tenor of the times and the meaning of the trial was clearly evident in Judge Kaufman's statement imposing sentence on the Rosenbergs:

"I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding fifty thousand and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason. Indeed, by your betrayal you undoubtedly have altered the course of history to the disadvantage of our country . . .

"In the light of the circumstances, I feel that I must pass such sentence upon the principals in this diabolical conspiracy to destroy a God-fearing nation, which will demonstrate with finality that this nation's security will remain inviolate."

Aside from the unbridled political bias of Kaufman's remarks, he asserts as the object of the alleged conspiracy what the government knew to be untrue. There was never a "secret" to the atom bomb. Prior to Sputnik, it was a prevalent opinion in the U. S. that the Soviet Union was too backward scientifically to compete with the U. S. Consequently many people, the jurors included, were led to believe that the "secret" must have been stolen.

No real evidence

At the trial itself no evidence of actual espionage was ever submitted against the defendants. Instead, they were charged with conspiracy, a loaded charge requiring little tangible evidence.

The principal evidence against the Rosenbergs consisted of the statement of Harry Gold, an admitted perjurer who changed his story numerous times; the statement of David Greenglass, awaiting sentence at the time; and two pieces of tangible evidence—a hotel registration card, subsequently shown to be a forgery, and the alleged sketches of the atom bomb that David Greenglass supposedly passed on to Gold at the instigation of Rosenberg. The only evidence submitted against Sobell was the unsupported statement of Max Elitcher, whose own neck was in danger at the time.

The Greenglass sketches and accompanying description were the most important part of the prosecution's case. At the trial they were impounded as vital secrets, but Sobell's attorneys were finally successful in obtaining the release of the Greenglass evidence in 1966. As a result, the underpinning of the prosecution's case was demolished.

Dr. Philip Morrison, a physicist and co-holder of the patent on the Nagasaki bomb, filed an affidavit which called the Greenglass evidence a "caricature." He said it was "confused and imprecise . . . both qualitatively and quantitatively incorrect and misleading."

Dr. Henry Linschitz, a chemistry professor, was involved in the assembly of the first atom bomb. He was in charge of the section for which Greenglass worked as a machinist. He said in an affidavit that the Greenglass material was "garbled, ambiguous, and highly incomplete . . . The information conveyed by Greenglass's disclosures could have saved the Russians essentially no time whatever."

No single secret

"The construction of an atomic bomb involved no single secret in the scientific sense. It did involve a highly complex set of technical tricks, devices, and processes, combined with an immense and versatile industrial capability.

"It is not possible in any technologically useful way to condense the results of a two-billion-dollar development effort into a diagram, drawn by a high-school graduate [Greenglass] on a single sheet of paper."

At the trial, the government produced not a single competent scientist to authenticate the alleged sketches of the atom bomb. The only government "expert" was John A. Derry, an electrical engineer, of whom Dr. Morrison said, "he had neither the scientific background to equip him with knowledge of the design and construction of the atomic bomb, nor was he closely associated with the technical aspects of the project."

Never reviewed

Nevertheless, the Supreme Court never reviewed the full evidence in the case. The government has consistently denied appeals for a hearing, in which witnesses could be called and legal evidence submitted in the effort to exonerate the Rosenbergs and Sobell. Sobell has stated that he will continue to fight for a hearing.

To countless individuals throughout the world the innocence of Sobell and the Rosenbergs has been clearly shown.

When Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were offered commutation of their death sentences in return for a false confession of guilt, they gave an answer which has served to inspire the continuing fight for the truth about the Rosenberg-Sobell trial:

"If we are executed, it will be murder of innocent people and the shame will be on the government of the United States. History will record, whether we live or die, that we were victims of one of the most monstrous frame-ups in our country's history."

Works by and about Malcolm X

The Assassination of Malcolm X

- 1. Unanswered Questions By George Breitman
- 2. The Trial By Herman Porter

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Malcolm X Speaks	5.95	.95
Malcolm X on Afro-American History		.50
Malcolm X Talks to Young People		.35
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The Soviet plan for Middle East

By Elizabeth Barnes

Although it did not specifically mention the current Soviet proposals for a "Big Four"-sponsored settlement of the crisis in the Middle East, a statement released this week by the Palestinian resistance movement Al Fatah was a clear indictment of the plan. Al Fatah reaffirmed its perspective of "armed struggle for the liberation of our Palestine" and rejected any solution which would mean "the abolition anew of the Palestinian identity."

It is around this key question of the "Palestinian identity" which the decades of conflict in the Middle East have centered, and it is this question which the Soviet proposals avoid.

In creating Israel in what formerly was Palestine, the Zionists drove thousands of Palestinian Arabs from their homeland, leaving them stateless and impoverished. The situation of the Palestinian refugees has grown more desperate over the years, and they have developed a revolutionary determination to reestablish their rights in their homeland. This determination is expressed through the growth of such Palestinian resistance movements as Al Fatah.

While the Soviet plan calls for a "phased" Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories it seized during its 1967 blitz war, it also proposes that in return for this, the Arabs recognize the "territorial integrity" of Israel. This would put aside any claims of the Palestinian Arabs to their homeland. Finally, the "Big Four" powers or a United Nations "peace-keeping" force would move into the area to enforce the settlement.

Thus, this proposal, whose stated aim is to bring a "just and lasting" peace to the Middle East, would perpetuate the very same injustices which were involved in the creation of Israel over 20 years ago.

In 1947, the United Nations passed a resolution, with the support of the same "Big Four," which trampled on the right of self-determination of the Palestinian Arabs by calling for the setting up of the state of Israel in their country. It was this original decision, imposed by arms and ruthless economic pressure on the Palestinian Arabs, which led to the wars of 1948, 1956 and 1967 and which have turned hundreds of thousands of Palestinians into refugees.

It is true that the Soviet proposal calls

Afro-American students continue Brandeis fight

By Sarah Ullman

WALTHAM, Mass., Jan. 11 — This morning Brandeis University president Morris Abram announced the suspension of 65 black students, bringing amnesty to an end and clearing the way for their prosecution.

Frustrated by nine months of fruitless attempts to get "black survival" demands met by the university administration, the Brandeis Afro-American Organization (known as the Afro) finally took direct action last Wednesday, Jan. 8.

At 2:30 p.m., 75 Afro members occupied Ford Hall, which houses the university's all-important computer system, its switchboard and other communications facilities, and some classrooms. Employees and others in the building at the time were ordered quietly but firmly to leave, which they did without incident. The occupiers barricaded doors and posted guards. A banner was hung out proclaiming the building Malcolm X University.

The main points of the black students' demands were presented last April, following Martin Luther King's assassination. Despite administration promises and half-steps, action has still not been taken to implement even the demands agreed to on paper.

The demands, now nonnegotiable, are:

- 1) The establishment of an Afro-American and African studies department with a black chairman, the right to hire and fire, and an independent budget.
- 2) Year-round recruitment of black students, carried out by a black board of at least five students and a director, paid at the going rates.
- 3) Black directors for the Upward Bound and Transitional Year programs, which are designed to bring into the university economically and academically deprived youths, most of whom are black.
- 4) Immediate action to hire black professors for each department and five for the Afro-American studies department; in

the meantime visiting lecturers should be hired for semester periods.

- 5) Establishment of an Afro-American Center, designed by black students.
- 6) Clarification of the status of Transitional Year Program students, and both numerical expansion and better funding of the program.
- 7) Immediate, just resolution of the case of a black student recently shot with a B-B gun by a white student in a dorm.
- 8) Publication, with no further stalling, of a pamphlet by black Brandeis students for recruiting others.
- 9) Intensified recruitment of Africans in the foreign-student program.
- 10) Ten Martin Luther King or Malcolm X full scholarships for black students, judged first by need.

White support

Some white students responded immediately to the occupation of Ford Hall by providing mattresses, blankets and food. Thursday morning, Jan. 9, there was a support rally of from 200 to 400 students and 10 to 20 professors. In the afternoon, 100 to 200 white supporters, meeting in the adjacent administration buildings, issued a statement pledging to remain there until the demands of the Afro are met and, in case the black students are involuntarily removed, to reoccupy Ford or take "other equally effective actions."

President Abram, meeting with white students, faculty, and black representatives, seemed willing and eager to accept graciously any concessions from the Afro. He did not seem willing to grant the demands. At 11 p.m. Thursday, he announced that he had an injunction requiring the students to vacate the building by 9 the following morning, or amnesty would end, and they would face prosecution for contempt of court. White supporters responded with a picket line of more than 100 students circling Ford Hall. Amnesty was extended as the administration resumed talks with the Afro.

Passes buck

Finally, Abram agreed to all points except the first, which, he said, had to be decided by the faculty. They, in turn, demand that the black students vacate Ford before they will enter into discussions, but they are debating among themselves. White supporters are maintaining their picket lines outside Ford.

The Brandeis Afro has expressed its solidarity with the struggle at San Francisco State College and with the attempts of black students in two Boston ghetto high schools, King and Timilty, to gain community control.



LIBERATION FIGHTERS. Al Fatah guerrillas at training base somewhere in Middle East.

for a concession on the part of Israel in that she is asked to withdraw from her newly conquered Arab territories, but on the basic question of the liberation of Palestine, the plan asks for total Arab surrender.

Just as important is the fact that the Soviet plan serves to legitimize the idea of armed intervention by the imperialist powers in the Middle East just at a time when the revolutionary forces in this area are beginning to grow and organize.

On this question, the Soviet Union finds itself in solidarity not only with the imperialists but with the reactionary and pro-imperialist elements in the Arab world as well.

Lebanese view

An example of this appeared in the Jan. 13 *New York Times*, where Dana Adams Schmidt reports that conservative diplomats in Lebanon hope for the intervention of the U.S. in the Middle East because without it "another Arab-Israeli round is inevitable." Schmidt says that "in such a round, they fear, the relatively pro-Western regimes of Lebanon and Jordan might

well be swept away in a tide of revolutionary sentiment."

Favors status quo

The Soviet "peace" plan is thus, in effect, a continuation of the USSR's antidemocratic and "don't rock the boat" attitude toward revolutionary developments. It is significant that at the same time the Soviet Union is peddling this line of cynical acceptance of big-power politics and collaboration with the imperialist powers, the *Tri-continental* magazine, published in Havana, has reprinted an interview reporting the revolutionary perspective of the Al Fatah. There, Al Fatah leader Abou Amar explains, "We are showing that, in reality, the struggle is being waged between an imperialist army of occupation (which has the full support of the most powerful capitalist governments) and a handful of Palestinian patriots who, with their commando actions, keep that army checkmated. Our struggle is for Palestine, for the Arab people, for the world. We are a national liberation movement which is struggling just like the fighters of Vietnam, Bolivia or any other people of the world."

Boston delegation greets harassed antiwar seaman

BOSTON—Seaman Norm Gelnaw was greeted at Logan Airport here Jan. 8 by members of the Young Socialist Alliance and the GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace. The antiwar sailor was returning from Detroit, where he had been arrested Jan. 4 for distributing copies of the GI antiwar newspaper *The Bond*.

Gelnaw and Ray Greer, a member of the U.S. Army Military Intelligence Division, were handing out copies of *The Bond* to servicemen home on leave at Detroit's Metropolitan Airport. They were placed in the stockade at Fort Wayne.

Two civilians who had been distributing antiwar literature along with Gelnaw and Greer arranged for a supporting demonstration demanding the release of Greer and Gelnaw, outside the Detroit base. One was released that night, the other the following morning.

Gelnaw was ordered back to his ship, the *Randolph*, which is being decommissioned and is in drydock at the annex of the Boston Navy Yard. Boston antiwar activists were alerted to Gelnaw's case by the Detroit YSA and Resistance.

At the Logan Airport, Gelnaw held a press conference, where he said he was gravely concerned about the whereabouts of the other serviceman, Ray Greer, who had been picked up with him and was "virtually abducted" by his commanding officer. Antiwar committees are attempting to contact Greer.

Gelnaw told the press that the news servicemen receive while on duty is scanty and by no means complete. He said that it was while he was stationed at Norfolk that he had come into contact with *The Bond* and *Vietnam GI* with stories, articles and letters written by servicemen expressing their discontent and their desire to act in some way against "the establishment."

Another antiwar serviceman, from near-

by Ft. Devens, who spoke at the airport press conference, said that although the antiwar movement at Ft. Devens was being suppressed, it existed, and that he represented several servicemen at Devens in his gesture of support of coming to the airport to greet Norm Gelnaw.

When Gelnaw was picked up in Detroit, the case was publicized and two lawyers came to his aid. In addition, Gelnaw said, his union, the United Auto Workers, had offered legal help.

He emphasized that it was only after he had realized that the civilian antiwar movement was in solidarity with GIs and supported their fight for free speech that he decided to do whatever he could to speak out the way he felt.

Warsaw convicts 2 revolutionaries

JAN. 16—Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, the Polish revolutionaries on trial in Warsaw, were each sentenced to three-and-a-half years' imprisonment yesterday. They were charged with being "spiritual instigators" of nationwide student demonstrations last year against the ruling bureaucracy of Wladyslaw Gomulka. "A second charge, considered tantamount to an accusation of treason, apparently was dropped. That charge, linking the accused to the Belgian-based Trotskyite Fourth International, provides for a minimum five-year sentence," the Jan. 16 *New York Times* reported. For an earlier story see page 3.



How to avoid leaving

Washington views
on Vietnam 'options'

By Dick Roberts

JAN. 15—"The Nixon Administration will have no shortage of advice from members of the Johnson Administration on a possible shift in Vietnam strategy," **New York Times** correspondent William Beecher reported from Washington Jan. 11.

But a look at the "options" these strategists are recommending to incoming war secretary Melvin R. Laird makes clear they are short on one thing, at least — good advice. They carefully omit the only plan that really would bring the war to a quick end: immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

All the plans the Johnson men recommend to the new administration call for a prolonged war effort centered on defeating the guerrillas in South Vietnam.

Beecher says there are six principal alternatives:

1) Continuation of the present administration strategy favored by Secretary of State Rusk, Ambassador to Saigon Bunker and Gen. Abrams, U.S. commander in Vietnam: "maintaining maximum military pressure on the enemy in South Vietnam while attempting a favorable settlement in Paris without twisting Saigon's arm on basic compromises."

2) The McGeorge Bundy plan: "cutting back American force levels from the present 550,000 men to 100,000 or 150,000 men in about two years to get into a position for a long-haul, low-cost effort."

Bundy believes "the cost of the war, both in terms of American lives and dollars must be reduced to the point where the American public will support a long war."

3) The Clark Clifford "dual-track" plan. This favors concentrating on persuading North Vietnamese troops to withdraw from South Vietnam under some kind of international surveillance. U.S. troops would be "mutually" withdrawn.

Package deal

4) "A four-party attempt to negotiate a total package settlement embracing both troop withdrawals and a final political settlement . . . During the course of negotiations, which would be expected to be protracted, the U.S. could either continue current force levels and maximum military pressure in the South, or ease its burden by sending limited numbers of American units home . . ."

5) "A gradual but substantial American

troop reduction . . . It would be much slower than under the Bundy proposal, however, being spread out over at least four or five years as the South Vietnamese forces became able to pick up most of the combat load."

6) "Letting word 'leak' to Hanoi that the Nixon Administration was opening serious discussion on such possible military moves as a resumption of bombing with focus on major military targets rather than trucks and barges, a blockage of principal ports, including Haiphong, and even invasion of North Vietnam."

"The aim of this approach would be to convince Hanoi that it would be wise to make concessions in Paris."

The Johnson Administration itself has largely adhered to a combination of all of these plans except the so-called Bundy plan involving a significant troop cutback.

This idea of a reduction of troop levels to around 150,000 is a variation of the "enclave" plan long favored by Senate "doves." It has been rejected by the Pentagon because military experts doubt the U.S. could even defend "enclaves" at that low troop level.

Single aim

The other plans combine outright military pressure, threats, promises of "withdrawal" — all over a long period — with the single aim of stabilizing the Saigon regime.

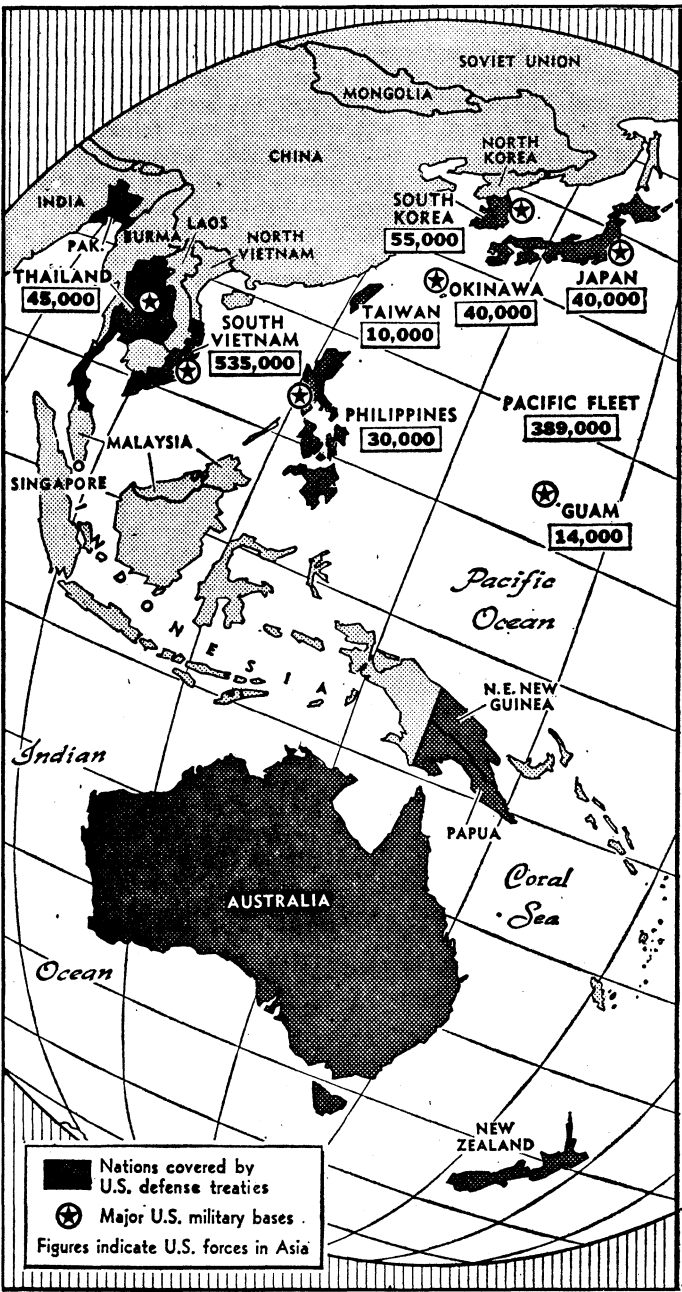
A hint of the problems involved in this effort was contained in congressional criticism of White House claims about the success of the "pacification" strategy. The critic was Representative John V. Tunney, a California member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, who visited South Vietnam last May.

According to Tunney, present administration claims that 73.3 percent of the South Vietnamese population are living under Saigon control are highly misleading and full of glaring defects.

Tunney attacked the "rating" system by which hamlets are judged for their "security." He said that only 8,650 of the 12,650 hamlets are actually visited by raters because the other 4,000 are under permanent guerrilla control.

The remaining 8,650 hamlets, Tunney claimed, "are not visited for as long as 12 months." He held that those "raters" who do visit hamlets are under considerable pressure to falsify their evaluations.

Finally, according to Tunney, these



OVER ONE MILLION U. S. TROOPS POLICE ASIA. This map in the Jan. 12 New York Times shows what the war in Vietnam is all about. Vietnamese guerrillas have risen up against one bastion of imperialism but it is only one part of a worldwide system and the struggle will continue until imperialist police forces the world over have been defeated. The fight to bring the troops home from Vietnam is consequently part of an international struggle against U.S. imperialism. It is the first step toward ending all U.S. occupation of foreign lands.

faulty evaluations covering only a small portion of the actual population are fed into a computer which calculates nationwide estimates. Tunney remarked, "As they say in the computer trade, 'garbage in, garbage out.'"

But it is that kind of "garbage" which is being used to spread the illusion that the Saigon regime is extending its hold on the South Vietnamese population — and that if the U.S. stays just a while longer "peace" will be restored in Vietnam.

Experience speaks against these estimates about "pacification" and the proposals for U.S. strategy based on them. The eight-year war has shown that the Saigon regime is totally corrupt and completely unpopular and that it would crumble if U.S. forces were withdrawn.

Failure of policy

That is why Washington has no intention of withdrawing the GIs. In fact, the "options" being handed to the incoming administration do prove one thing: That the U.S. military has been unable to bring the South Vietnamese population under the sway of Saigon after more than 30,000 American soldiers have been killed, and

further, that the U.S. military sees no possibility of accomplishing this task in the near future.

Determined to carry through its objective of rolling back and eventually crushing the Vietnamese revolution, the U.S. ruling class is determined to maintain a military force in Vietnam as long as it deems it necessary — or at least as long as possible. Its fake propaganda about the prospects of an early "peace" in Vietnam is designed precisely to lull those forces that can prove a serious obstacle to a continued U.S. presence in Vietnam — particularly the U.S. antiwar movement.

Now, more than ever, massive opposition to the war must be demonstrated. The demand for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam must be intensified.

A major opportunity for escalating the antiwar pressure is provided by the April 6 national GI-civilian demonstrations. Every partisan of peace, every partisan of self-determination for the Vietnamese people, every partisan of the Vietnamese revolution should devote himself to ensuring the success of that antiwar action.

movements in Southern and Portuguese Africa;

Also, campus organizing; GI organizing; women's liberation; black liberation; underground and movement films; uses of street theater; and a high-school students' workshop.

The Sunday march to the Capitol will assemble at the ellipse on the Constitution Ave. side of the White House at 1 p.m. It will proceed to the Capitol area.

Sunday evening, the "Counter-Inaugural" ball will be held in a heated tent near the ellipse. The "presence" along Nixon's inaugural parade route Monday will include signs, pennants, etc., from noon to 4 p.m.

The Washington Mobe will provide free housing. Those arriving on busses will be met by housing personnel. Others should call the Washington Mobe upon arrival for housing assignments — 202-347-9600.

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Photo by Gus Horowitz

PRAGUE, JAN. 2, 1969. Youth petitions in Wenceslas Square for the retention of Josef Smrkovsky as chairman of the National Assembly. Slated removal of Smrkovsky, considered most progressive of top government officials called forth a wave of petitions, press and radio commentary, and resolutions of support and strike threats by unions.

By Gus Horowitz

While visiting Czechoslovakia at the beginning of the year, I was able to talk to one of the country's top political journalists. He had been active in the pre-occupation literary campaign aimed at popularizing the need for democratization of the state and party apparatus. Our discussion was informal, not set up as an interview, and, for his welfare, I will simply refer to him as Jan.

I had identified myself to Jan as an activist in the American antiwar movement and described my Trotskyist political beliefs. This he accepted casually, without any trace of the narrow-minded hostility towards Trotskyism that is typical of the Stalinist-minded bureaucrats of Communist parties throughout the world.

I asked about his estimation of the political mood of the country—whether it was one of resignation to the Soviet occupation, whether a mood of defeatism had set in among the people. His reply was no, but that the danger existed that such a mood would develop. As of the time—the first of the year—there still existed a feeling of resistance, a will to struggle, especially within the working class.

When the reforms were first initiated, Jan said, no one thought these reforms would catch on to the extent that they did among the mass of the people. Now the working class is the strongest base of support for the democratization process in Czechoslovakia. At first, when the reforms were initiated, the workers were somewhat cautious, a bit suspicious, waiting carefully to see what would develop. But as time went on and the direction of the political and economic reforms became clear, they rallied to the support of the democratization process—especially after the in-

vasion of August 21.

Student strike

One of the examples he pointed to was the tremendous show of support by the workers to the demands raised by the student strike that took place Nov. 18-21. The students demanded a return to the democratization process initiated after January 1968 in Czechoslovakia, and they called for the removal from office of all officials in the government who were adapting too much to Russian pressure. The strike was called as a symbol of opposition to the growing accommodation displayed by government officials toward Russian-imposed policy.

Official trade-union organizations passed resolutions declaring support to the students' demands or donated food and money to the students, who had occupied the university buildings. Individual workers came to the campus to express their solidarity. A number of trade unions threatened to go out on strike if any reprisals were initiated against the students.

Now, Jan said, the key political issue revolves around Smrkovsky, the chairman of the national assembly and the most progressive of the remaining top leaders in Czechoslovakia. The Russians are planning to have him removed from his position to be replaced by someone more easily subject to their influence. Ostensibly the reason for his removal will be that under the new federal structure for Czechoslovakia, Smrkovsky, a Czech, should be replaced by a Slovak to give national balance to the top governmental offices.

Labor base

Jan pointed to the tremendous popular support for Smrkovsky that had been shown by the people, Slovaks as well as Czechs. The working class, he said, is the

strongest base for this feeling. The metallurgical workers, 900,000 strong, had threatened to strike if Smrkovsky should be removed from office. So had the railroad workers and the workers in the electrical-power industries.

In a sense, he said, all the mass feeling of resistance to the Soviet-led invasion, support for the democratization process, and disapproval of the growing accommodation to the Russians shown by the top leaders, was coalescing around the issue of Smrkovsky's future status. This was a key issue and a possible turning point in the political situation.

Should Smrkovsky be removed from office without a struggle—more important, should he acquiesce in such a decision—the people would see this as a defeat, with the ensuing possibility that a mood of resignation could set in.

The situation, however, was still fluid. It remained to be seen, Jan said, what would happen. The Russians are capable of exerting tremendous pressure on the Czechoslovakian government leaders, as experience has shown.

I asked him what this pressure consisted of. He replied that it was of the same type that the Russians exerted in Moscow when the Czech leaders were brought there immediately after the August invasion. The Russians say, if you fight, you will lose; we have the military power to crush you and will not hesitate to use it to put down any resistance. It will be much worse for your people if we have to impose such and such a policy than if you do it yourselves.

Soviet threats

It is said that at the time, the Russians threatened to incorporate Czechoslovakia into the Soviet Union; they threatened mass arrests, trials, the deportation of hundreds of thousands of people; there might be tens or hundreds of thousands killed. Who knows, Jan asked, if they were serious about all that? The Russians are capable of anything.

Thus the top government leaders were under the tremendous pressure of having to bear responsibility for a real struggle. Under this pressure they felt they had to acquiesce in the Russian demands. Jan said the same type of pressure was behind Dubcek's speech of Dec. 21 in Bratislava. In that speech, Dubcek addressed himself to the growing expression of sentiment among the people—especially the workers, students and journalists—that the government was yielding too much to the pressures of the Soviet Union.

Dubcek said, "If these tendencies hindering our way should continue, unavoidable measures would become necessary, measures appearing undemocratic, but serving democracy to chase anarchist elements back. . . . This is the hard truth, but it is necessary to pronounce it."

I asked Jan how he thought the government officials had generally held up under the pressure from Moscow. He said they were divided.

After they signed the Aug. 26 "agreement" with the Russians, they made a pact among themselves to act in a united manner: In case of pressure for the removal of any one of them from office, they would resist; if one were to go, they would all go. They agreed never to accept the Russians' excuse for the invasion, the excuse that counterrevolutionary trends existed in Czechoslovakia.

Since then, however, there have been divisions, Jan said, especially on the part of Gustav Husak, chairman of the Slovak Communist Party and Premier Oldrich Cernik.

A "misunderstanding?"

It has been said, Jan observed, that the August invasion was merely the result of a misunderstanding; that after clarifying things, after discussing mutual affairs in a reasonable manner, they could find a way to work things out with the Russians; that this is a least the most realistic course to follow.

Of course, he added, this argument undermines the basis for struggle—this concept that things can be worked out with the Russians to maintain a good part of the reforms. So already the united stance of the leadership has been broken. The basis for an independent policy has been weakened.

Now it is even being said, he continued, that not everything was so good prior to Aug. 21, that there really did exist some counterrevolutionary trends. It is clear

Prague printers balk at Stalinism

The printers' union in Prague on Jan. 11 refused to print the first issue of a new Communist Party weekly, Tribuna, reported the New York Times, "apparently because it was 'contrary' to the country's liberalization movement."

Tribuna was apparently meant to replace Politika, one of the most outspoken of the Czech publications, which has been banned. Oldrich Svestka, new editor of the Tribuna has "pro-Soviet leanings," according to the Times.

The union delegates, meeting in Prague, said that they would refuse to work on any publications, "the total content of which, or some articles, would be contrary to the principles" of the post-January 1968 developments in Czechoslovakia. "This was the case of some material of the first number of the magazine Tribuna, the publication of which had to be postponed," said the union.

Czech student strike demands

The following 10 demands were presented by Czechoslovak student strikers during their Nov. 18-21, 1968, campus sit-ins.

1. The foundation of our political life is and will remain the Action Program of the KSC (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) accepted at the April plenum of the CC (Central Committee) of the KSC.
2. There will be no return to closed-door politics. In particular there will be a renewal of communications between the people and the leadership.
3. The introduction of censorship in the mass communications media is temporary and will not last more than a half year.
4. Freedom of assembly and association must remain inviolate.
5. Freedom of scientific research and literary and cultural expression will be guaranteed.
6. Security of the person and legal rights of citizens will be guaranteed.
7. Those who have lost the confidence of the people and fail to exercise their office satisfactorily will not be retained in their posts.
8. The establishment of workers' councils as self-management bodies in the factories will continue.
9. Freedom to travel abroad will be guaranteed.
10. In the area of foreign policy we must not take part in actions which run counter to the feelings of the Czechoslovak people, the United Nations Charter, or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.



Photo by Gus Horowitz

RESISTANCE SYMBOL. Statue of St. Wenceslas has been focal point for demonstrations of opposition to Soviet occupation. At all hours people gather at its base to look at the candles and wreaths, memorials for those killed in the invasion, and to read statements of support from people all over the world.

what develops from this reasoning.

I asked him what he thought of the new federal structure being set up, the establishment of the state as a federation of Czechs and Slovaks. In particular, I asked him about the meaning of the apparent attempt by the Soviet Union to exploit the federation issue by removing Smrkovsky, a Czech, and replacing him by a Slovak.

In answer, Jan pointed to the recent growth of nationalist feeling among the Slovaks. Though similar in language and culture, the two nations have had different histories. The Czechs have had a history of national struggle and are more industrially advanced. With the formation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, their national aspirations appeared fulfilled. The Slovaks, however, had been oppressed for many more years. During that time there had been no major national risings.

Anti-Nazi struggle

In 1944, however, the Slovaks rose up against the Nazis. The Communist Party played a big part in the leadership of this uprising. As an individual leader of the Slovakian Communists, so did Husak.

This uprising was a tremendous thing for the Slovaks; it was the greatest event in Slovak history, in terms of struggle as a nation. The Slovaks were tremendously proud of it, especially the Communist Party leaders, those around Husak. From this point on, there was a real growth of nationalist feeling among the Slovaks.

But under the Novotny regime, this was disparaged as "bourgeois nationalism." Husak himself was jailed for a number of years, and the other Slovakian Communist Party leaders around him were shunted aside. But Slovakian nationalism did not die out. It continued to exist.

So after January, the progressive forces, respecting the national feeling of the Slovaks, decided to set up a federation. The concept of a federation was incorporated into the April Action Program.

This was one of the things that Moscow feared in the post-January developments, Jan explained. In the USSR they have a federation, but on paper only. However, in the Soviet Union there does exist strong national feeling among some of the nations—in the Ukraine, for example. Remember, Jan added, that the Ukraine borders on Czechoslovakia; some of the Czechoslovakian people are Ukrainians. They speak the same language. The example of what was happening in Czechoslovakia was known, and the Russians feared that the example would spread.

So the Russian leaders never did like the idea of federation in Czechoslovakia. But now they feel that the political situation is such that they have to go along with federation in a limited sense.

Pliant figure

Then how does Husak's present role fit into this, I asked? (Husak is much more amenable to Soviet influence than most of the other government leaders. He was one of the main proponents of the idea

that Smrkovsky be replaced by a Slovak.)

Husak is a Stalinist, Jan answered. Not that he is for the worst aspects of Stalinist policy, but for Stalinism without prison camps and terror. His basic undemocratic approach is the same.

Husak was imprisoned during the Novotny regime, Jan said. He had ample time to think over his political beliefs. But his basic conceptions remained unchanged. The term "apparatchik" describes Husak: He is for Novotnyism without Novotny.

Jan said he had known Husak for many years. Of all the leaders, he is the cleverest politician by far. Especially in the bourgeois sense of politics—as in the U. S.—politics which is unprincipled, which has the goal of individual advancement, which involves political deals between one and the other.

For Husak, therefore, the Russian presence is not such a threat. Regarding political perspective, there is not that much difference. He can tolerate the Russians. Likewise, the Russians aim to use him and, through him and his base of support among a section of the Slovakian Communist Party leaders, to move against the reformers in the party and government.

However, Jan emphasized, the Czech and Slovak peoples were never more united than after Aug. 21. There was a real unity like he had never seen before. And that unity still exists, he insisted.

I asked Jan's opinion of the reason for the Soviet invasion. The press in the United States had indicated that the Soviet Union was fearful of a possible rapprochement between Czechoslovakia and the West and had acted to insure its essential security. What importance, I asked, did he place on the fear the Soviet rulers may have had of the example of Czechoslovakia spreading to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself?

Not pro-West

The latter is the reason why they invaded, he said. There was no intention in Czechoslovakia of leaving the Warsaw pact, or of establishing relations with the West in an economic or political fashion that would endanger the socialist countries. The Czechoslovaks wanted to retain the socialist nature of the economy, Jan declared, and the Russians knew that.

What the Russian leaders feared, he said, was the example of Czechoslovakia. Recalling the fear the Russians had of the federal structure the Czechoslovaks set up, their worry was about its effect on the Ukraine. The same is true, Jan continued, of the democratic reforms the Czechoslovaks were instituting. There is considerable sentiment, he observed, in Russia too, among intellectual circles, for instance, for democratization.

I asked about Isaac Deutscher, how well known his ideas and the ideas of other non-Stalinist Marxists were within Czechoslovakia, if not among the masses, then at least in intellectual circles.

Isaac Deutscher was known, he answered.

His recent book, *The Unfinished Revolution*, was serialized in *Literarni Listy* (a Czech literary weekly, now banned). Other publications carried reviews of this and other works by Deutscher.

In Czechoslovakian intellectual circles there has been a process of ferment and discussion over a number of years, he said.

It actually started in 1955, Jan said, after Krushchev went to Yugoslavia and "apologized" for Stalin's policy—Stalin had even called Tito a counterrevolutionary. Before that, Czechoslovak intellectuals had all been taught to accept everything Stalin said as the ultimate truth. After that had been called into question, then naturally other questions could be raised. Then in 1956, there was the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where Khrushchev detailed the crimes of the Stalin era in the Soviet Union.

"A reawakening"

The years following were like a reawakening, he continued. Then they discovered Deutscher and Gramsci and Sartre and Marcuse and others. Jan recalled that once a high official in the Communist Party went to the West on official business and brought back the second volume of Deutscher's biography of Trotsky. Jan borrowed it one day, for 24 hours, and spent that 24 hours reading the book straight through, in one night.

So it was not merely in 1968 that there was a reawakening of intellectual discussion and awareness in Czechoslovakia, Jan explained. It was a process lasting several years. Of course, after January 1968 there was a real flowering of political discussion. It was like a new life had been injected into the country.

Was Trotsky known in Czechoslovakia, I asked?

Before World War II, Jan said, much of Trotsky's work had been translated in Prague. Though it had been banned by the Nazis, and after them the Communist Party, and was therefore unavailable in bookstores and public libraries, many individuals still had some of Trotsky's work in their private libraries. Those books circulated, and his ideas were known in intellectual circles.

In response to a question, Jan said he and his cothinkers tended to agree with Trotsky's criticisms of Stalin. But they disagreed with his concept that a Soviet-style revolution would occur in Western Europe or in the colonial countries. They also did not like what they saw as his arbitrary and dogmatic approach to other ideas.

Slated congress

I asked him about the planned congress of the Communist Party which would have taken place in early September if not for the invasion. Prior to the congress there had been considerable discussion of the role and structure of the Communist Party in a socialist country. There had been discussion of organizational forms for recognizing differences of opinion within the party. How conscious, I asked, was the trend towards formal recognition of factions within the Communist Party? Was this their intention?

Yes, he replied. Under the Stalinist conception of democratic centralism, individuals may hold their own personal dif-

ferences of opinion, but they may not in any way join with others who hold the same views. They must give up their disagreements after a decision is reached. The Party congress was going to move away from that concept, towards allowing individuals to group together, to work out their ideas together in the course of a discussion, and even to hold their ideas afterward. The intention was to allow for the formal organization of factions within the Communist Party, eventually. But that was not being proposed at the congress. So as not to move too quickly, the slated congress was only going to incorporate this concept partially.

Finally I asked him about the Czech student movement, its political ideas in comparison with the student movement in Western Europe and the United States.

View of Vietnam

There is a difference, he said. The issue of Vietnam is not too important here in Czechoslovakia. There is also a tendency to place the blame for the war equally on the United States and the Soviet Union. Anything associated with Russia's policies is looked at skeptically. Che Guevara is considered an idealist, a Marxist revolutionary, but there is a tendency to look on Cuba as becoming Stalinized, on Castro as dictatorial. Castro's speech supporting the Russian invasion turned people away from Cuba, Jan said. The May-June events in France had little effect.

These latter observations were also verified in discussions I had with student leaders in Czechoslovakia. Their views on Vietnam, Cuba and France tend to depart from Marxism. One of the crimes of Stalinist miseducation is that it implants a bowdlerized version of Marxim among the people of the Soviet bloc. One of the results is that serious, revolutionary-minded intellectuals lack a genuinely Marxist view of the world. Further, their reaction against Stalinism and their fierce opposition to anything emanating from Moscow tends to their sometimes rejecting entirely progressive and even revolutionary developments because they see them as somehow tied up with the Kremlin. Their lack of enthusiasm for Cuba and Vietnam are examples of this.

Key issue

The big, overriding issue for the Czechoslovaks is, or course, the building of a democratic socialism—a "human socialism," as they call it. In doing this they not only have the problem of getting the Kremlin off their backs but also the need to eliminate the political and ideological influence of their own bureaucracy as well as its power.

From what I saw in Czechoslovakia, I am convinced that the problem of the lack of a genuine Marxist approach is actually a temporary matter. Not one person I met was for a return to capitalism. All were for socialism with democracy. In the course of developing a theory of the "human socialism" that the Czechoslovakian people want (as do the working people throughout the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe) there will be many different approaches tried, some false starts, some trials. But, inevitably, in so richly educational a process, a workable and valid approach within the full framework of Marxism will develop.

Working youth back student strikers

The following declaration in support of the Czechoslovak student strike of Nov. 18-21, 1968, was issued by the Prague city council of the Union of Working Youth.

In the spring of this year our youth fully supported our party's policy, its Action Program, and the progressive forces in the party.

We reaffirm our support for the post-January policy, and therefore the political situation currently developing in our country disturbs us. Concessions to the conservative forces in the party and the withdrawal of a section of the most progressive figures from public life are hardly a guarantee that the party will continue consistently to put the Action Program into practice, to build democratic socialism—socialism with a human face.

We do not want to return to the politics of the fifties!

We do not want the KSC (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) to rule the state by brute force without considering the wishes or the ideas of the people!

The students have expressed their protest against the current development by a sit-in in all the universities. The city council of the Union of Working Youth expresses its full support for them. It calls on the working youth to send their representatives into the universities, establish contacts with the students, support them and arrange joint action with them.

In order to prevent a revival of the negative phenomena of past years, the City Council of Working Youth calls on all workers to support the students' action and to shield them from any persecution!

For Socialism With a Human Face!

The Prague City Council of Working Youth.

Plans launched for April 6

Plans for the April 6 GI-civilian protest against the war in Vietnam are well under way. The action has already received the endorsement of the Chicago Peace Council and the Los Angeles Peace Action Council, two of the major regional antiwar coalitions in the U.S. In Seattle and Atlanta, antiwar GIs are already actively involved in planning for the demonstrations.

Called by the National GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference held in Chicago Dec. 28, the demonstrations will be oriented to GIs, whose involvement in antiwar protests is the most significant new development for the movement against the war in Vietnam. The seven regional centers for the action in the U.S.—New York, Chicago, Atlanta, Austin, Seattle, Los Angeles, and San Francisco—were chosen to facilitate GI participation and organization of the action.

In Seattle, the GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace has called a demonstration for Feb. 16. GI-CAP evolved out of a demonstration held Oct. 26, in which some 200 active-duty GIs participated. Since then, the organization has met regularly and draws a consistently high attendance of GIs at its meetings. GI-CAP plans to initiate the Seattle antiwar demonstration April 6.

Seattle's Feb. 16 demonstration will feature a march to Eagle's Auditorium for a rally at which Navy Lt. Susan Schnall and former Master Sgt. Donald Duncan will speak. A dance will follow.

On Jan. 13 the national office of the Student Mobilization Committee issued a call for international actions against the war April 6. In the message to antiwar groups throughout the world, the SMC said, "We call for a round of demonstrations that will show the aggressors that we will not be quieted by fancy talk in Paris. We will fight until every GI is brought home and the killing is stopped. In those countries where American servicemen are stationed, we call on the antiwar movement to make a special effort for GI participation in the peace demonstrations."

To build April 6, the SMC has prepared a special issue of its *Student Mobilizer*, "Special Wall Poster Issue #1." It is available for three cents each in bulk orders from the SMC office, 857 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. A button reading "Year of the Antiwar GI — March With GI's Against the War April 6" is also available; 25 cents each; 15 cents in bulk.

GI demonstration set in Atlanta

By Nelson Blackstock

ATLANTA, Ga. — On Sunday, Jan. 12, representatives of the Atlanta civilian antiwar coalition and GIs from four surrounding bases met here and called for a South-wide GI-civilian demonstration in Atlanta on April 6. The Atlanta Alliance for April 6, which is the temporary name the group decided on, will hold a regional conference in Atlanta in early February to lay plans for the April 6 action.

Pvt. Don Pyle reported on the case of Pfc. Larry Darby, an antiwar GI imprisoned in the Ft. Benning, Ga., stockade. A telegram of protest was sent to the commanding officer of Ft. Benning.

The meeting was informed of plans to send two bus loads of GIs and civilians from Atlanta, with a stop in Columbia, S.C., to the Jan. 19-20 inauguration demonstrations in Washington, D.C. called by the National Mobilization Committee.

The Jan. 12 meeting was the most representative gathering of the Atlanta antiwar coalition in more than a year. Of the nearly 50 people present, 10 were GIs who came from Ft. McPherson, Ga., Ft. Benning, Ga., Ft. McClellan, Ala., and Ft. Jackson, S.C.

Cliff Conner was named acting secretary-treasurer of the Atlanta Alliance for April 6.

To build April 6 on the campuses, the New York SMC has suggested holding "preinduction orientation sessions — antiwar basic training." These sessions would be meant to prepare students subject to the draft to carry on legal antiwar activity while in the army.

S.F. State: the strike at 9 weeks

By Dianne Gannon

SAN FRANCISCO — By the ninth week of the campus strike at San Francisco State College class attendance had slumped to 16 percent of normal.

Buttressed by the walkout of more than 400 members of the American Federation of Teachers demanding union recognition, plus the newly formed teaching assistants' local of the AFT, the students' position has been significantly strengthened. The alliance with the teachers' union is tenuous but real. And it has been sufficient to divide the forces of the enemy.

Gov. Reagan's attempt to break the strike by getting an injunction against the teachers has been a failure. In fact the teachers voted unanimously to continue the strike in defiance of the illegal injunction. After so voting, they returned to the picket line, singing "Solidarity Forever." One student commented: "It's the first time I ever sang that song and meant more than history."

Impetus for the campus struggle comes from the Third World Liberation Front and its demands for self-determination in the field of education. The teachers have provided the additional strength of a workers' strike.

The AFT strike has the official sanction of the San Francisco Labor Council — a significant thing in a union-conscious city — and the teachers have the support of the Teamsters Union and the sanitation workers. Unionized cafeteria workers at the college as well as library workers and gardeners have walked off the job in support of the teachers. Strike action has also been taken by the clerical workers' organizing committee.

The day begins early at the strikebound campus, with students and teachers out in numbers to turn back traffic. "Hey Fred," a teacher yells to a colleague, "you can't go through the line. You should be out here with us." Sometimes the car will turn back, and the pickets cheer. Sometimes the car speeds through, the driver looking angry or guilty.

My faculty adviser is on strike. Someone queries: "Who's been advising whom?"

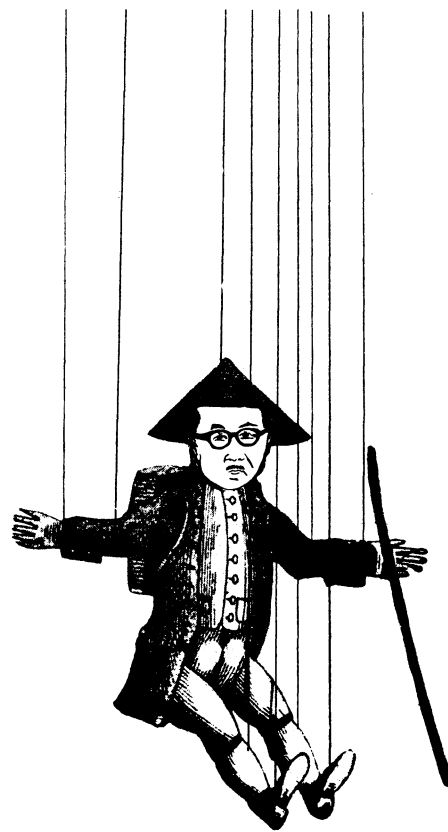
January, and the wind is blowing. We're in the third month of strike, and an uninhibited eccentric is acting president. He giggles to reporters and says that things are better than ever. It will all be over in a few days, he assures.

The cops stand ready, never noticing when a scab lashes out at a striker. The cops don't like the standing around, the waiting. They'd like to get some more "riot training." They harass us, they escort scabs through the line, and, when they decide, they move in and arrest someone. Carl Frank, another Young Socialist, is arrested. Nesbitt Crutchfield, a Black Student Union leader, is busted for the third time.

Intimidation and harassment haven't broken the strike, so the media tries divisive rumors about how one or another group is selling out. But judging by the continuing good turnout for the mass meetings and picket lines, people are able to see through these "rumors." We are more united than before.

The seriousness of the strike is expressed in our determination to win, not in any solemn atmosphere. Tickets for a bail-fund benefit dance are hawked, posters are displayed. The photography students exhibit their contribution to the strike.

Strike buttons, movement newspapers and art posters are sold. Someone opens



Open Process, S. F. State

Pres. Hayakawa

his brief case and offers candy and oranges to the line. The Diggers bring freshly baked bread. Daily papers are passed around and read. We discuss the strike, try to convince students to join the line. We carry on discussions which reflect the campus radicalization. "Your education is out here," we shout at the scabs, knowing how much we've learned since the strike began.

"Marat, we're poor," someone on the line begins singing, "and the poor stay poor . . ." The song grips us with its intensity and impatience. "We want our rights, and we don't care how. We want the Revolution, NOW!"

There is the fear of the loss of grades, the withdrawal of scholarships, the threat of arrest and expulsion. Yet since it began, Nov. 6, the strike has grown steadily stronger. The Third World Liberation Front, fighting for the needs of its community, has provided the dynamism for a struggle that has won the support of thousands of students and hundreds of teachers. Every day more community people and unions speak out in defense of the strike. The continuing, growing support reinforces the determination of the people on the picket line.

We can win.

Black students seize building at Minnesota U

By Seth Wigderson

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 15 — Shortly after midnight today, students at the University of Minnesota began barricading the Administration Building, which they have been occupying since yesterday. The occupation was started by members of the Afro-American Action Committee (AAAC) to protest the university's refusal to meet a list of demands submitted Jan. 13.

The demands included placing control of the Martin Luther King Jr. Scholarship Fund in the hands of the black community, setting up an Afro-American studies department to be controlled by the Afro-American Action Committee, and paying part or all of an estimated \$8,000 for a black conference to be held in the near future.

The university had agreed last year to provide scholarships for minority students, but when the students arrived, they found that all they were getting were loans. The university had also agreed to an Afro-American studies department, but nothing has actually been done so far. The AAAC issued a call yesterday evening for other student organizations to join the occupation, which had been exclusively black till then.

So far, the Young Socialist Alliance, SDS, the Resistance, and Peace and Freedom Party are participating, stating that they unconditionally support the demands of the AAAC and will stay as long as the black students ask them to.



Photo by Manuel Russell

ANTIWAR GI. Norman Gelnaw who was arrested in Detroit for passing out copies of the antiwar newspaper, *The Bond*, is greeted in Boston. Gelnaw was released from Detroit stockade after antiwar demonstration there; the movement met him in Boston on return to duty. Gelnaw pledged to continue fight against war in the Navy at airport press conference. See story page 8.